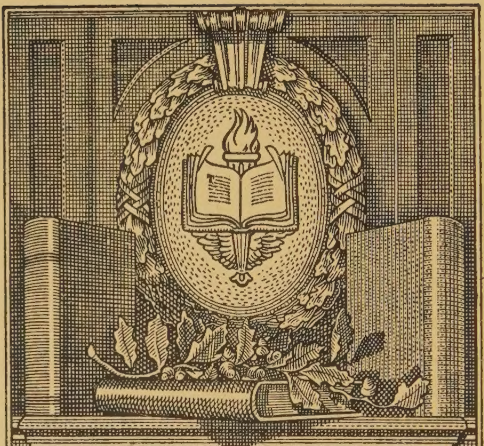

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VOLUME VI

CINCINNATI
1929

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UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
1930

PRINTED AT
THE HEBREW PRESS OF THE
JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Gates of Righteousness
Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.........1

Fear and Love of God in the Old Testament
Bernard Bamberger, Albany, N. Y............................39

Rabbinic Parallels in Early Church Orders
F. Gavin, The General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.....55

The Pharisees and Their Teachings
Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.....69

The Background of the Haggadah
A. Marmorstein, Jews College, London, England................141

Arabisch-Jüdische Schöpfungstheorieen
V. Aptowitzer, Wien.......................................205

Studies in History of Mathematics from Hebrew and Arabic Sources
I. The Terminology of Multiplication in Arabic and Hebrew Sources. 247
II. The Mishnat Ha-Middot or The First Hebrew Geometry Written About 150 C. E., Prolegomena to a New Edition...........263
Solomon Gandz, The Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary and Yeshiva College, New York City.

Eliezer Crescas and his Bet Zebul, the Bible References in Talmud and Midrash
Moses Gaster, London, England..............................277

The Sermons of Judah Moscato
Israel Bettan, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio...........297

Mendelssohn as Translator and Exegete
Henry Englander, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.......327

Supplement to "An Unknown Hebrew Version of the Sayings of Aesop," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. V, pp. 315–352
Richard J. H. Gottheil, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.....349

83- 2031

THE GATES OF RIGHTEOUSNESS*

By JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio

I

IN MODERN AND MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIAN WRITERS

THE history of the eastern gate of the Ḥaram-esh-Sherif in Jerusalem, the site of the temple of Solomon and its successors, is interwoven with romance. Legends about it are many and reach far back into dim antiquity. As we collect and analyze these we find them of deep significance. In fact they furnish the key to the solution of one of the most fascinating problems of the religion of ancient Israel.

This eastern gate has been described by countless travellers and pilgrims to Jerusalem. It is generally known as the Golden Gate. It is divided into two sections or doors, separated by columns. The one section is called by the Arabs *Bab-ar-raḥmah*, "Gate of Mercy," and the other *Bab-at-Taubah*, "Gate of Repentance." The entire gate is today walled up solidly, so that entrance through it is barred.

It is supposed to occupy the position of the eastern gate of the temple. "In Crusading times the gate was opened twice a year, once for the Palm Sunday procession, and again on Holy Cross Day, September 14, in commemoration of the recovery and exaltation of the cross by Heraclius. It was built up by the Turks, and the Moslems had a tradition that it would be opened only to admit the conquering Christian."[1]

Noroff[2] tells that the gate is frequently called the *Bab-ud-dahriyye*, "The Eternal Gate,"[3] and adds that "the tradition that a Christian conqueror will at some time enter through this Gate has made a deep impression upon the Moslems, and the gate was therefore walled up already in the time of Omar."

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*A paper read at the International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, England, Aug. 28, 1928.

[1] Parry, *The Pilgrim in Jerusalem*, 20.

[2] *Reise nach Palästina*, I, 226f.

[3] So also Schick, in *Jerusalem*, V (1898), 14.

Tobler[4] says, "The Gate has been walled up for centuries. . . . The Christians assert that the gateway was filled up because the Mohammedans feared that on some Friday, while they were praying in the Temple (i. e. the Mosque of Omar), an enemy would enter through the Golden Gate. Still today, in order to guard against this, a watchman is stationed on a side tower of the Gate."

The name Golden Gate is not found in the pilgrim literature before the period of the Latin Kingdom (1099–1187).[5] In the 4th century the Bordeaux pilgrim mentions an unnamed eastern gate through which one passed directly to the Mount of Olives. Theodorus[6] (about 520) and Theodosius[7] (about 530) call it the Gate of Benjamin, through which the road leads to Jericho. The former says further that through this Gate of Benjamin Jesus entered Jerusalem. In later times the name Gate of Benjamin was applied to an altogether different gate of the city. Aurelius Prudentius[8] (beginning of the 5th century) and Antoninus Martyr[9] (about 570) call this gate *porta speciosa*, i. e. "The Beautiful Gate." Arculf (about 670, i. e. after the Moslem conquest) mentions a large gate on the eastern side of the city and also a little gate from which one descended by a flight of steps to the Valley of Jehosaphat. Neither can be identified with the Golden Gate. The Venerable Bede (about 720) says not a word about this eastern gate in his description of Jerusalem. This lack of specific reference to the Golden Gate, under whatever name it may have then been called, and of all traditions about it is significant. I have found no other reference to the Golden Gate in all the pilgrim literature until, in the *Civitas Ierusalem* of 1096,[10] the simple statement occurs that on the east side of the city, leading directly into the temple area, was the *porta speciosa*.

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[4] *Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen*, I, 155ff.

[5] *Ibid.* 167, note 5.

[6] In Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo IV, V et VI*, 31.

[7] In Tobler et Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, I, 63 and 67.

[8] *Diptychon*, XLIV (quoted from Sepp, *Palästina*, I, 399).

[9] Tobler, *op. cit.*, 164.

[10] Tobler et Molinier, *op. cit.*, 348.

But almost from the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099 references to this gate become numerous and specific. Saewulf[11] (1102) says of it, "There is the gate of the city on the eastern side of the Temple, which is called the Golden, where Joachim, the father of the blessed Mary, by order of the Angel of the Lord, met his wife Anna. By the same gate the Lord Jesus, coming from Bethany, entered the city. By this gate the emperor Heraclius entered Jerusalem, when he returned victorious from Persia with the cross of our Lord; but the stones first fell down and closed up the passage, so that the gate became one mass, until humbling himself at the admonition of an angel, he descended from his horse, and so the entrance was opened to him."

John of Würzburg[12] (about 1137) is even more explicit. He says, "This (the eastern) wall extends to the Golden Gate. Although Jerusalem has often been captured and destroyed by enemies, this gate, by divine purpose, has always remained uninjured. Moreover, through reverence for the divine and mystic entrance into Jerusalem of the Lord, it has been shut on the inside, and on the outside has been blocked with stones; and at no time is it opened for any one, except upon the day of Palms, upon which, each year, in memory of the event that transpired, it is solemnly opened for a procession and for the entire populace, whether of pilgrims or citizens. After a sermon has been delivered by the patriarch to the people at the foot of the Mount of Olives, and the mass for the day has been completed, it is again shut up, as it was before, for the whole year, except at the exaltation of the holy cross, when it is again opened."

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[11] In Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 40f.

Singularly enough the Russian abbot Daniel, who visited Jerusalem in 1106–1107, i. e. about four years after Saewulf, knows of the Golden Gate only by the name, the Gate of the Apostles, while the name, the Beautiful Gate (*porta speciosa*), he applies to another altogether different gate, the exact location of which he describes very vaguely. His Gate of the Apostles, so he tells, had been erected by David, was solidly and artistically built, and was plated with gilded copper, covered with iron on the outside. Through this gate Jesus entered, when, accompanied by Lazarus, he came from Bethany. Beyond this he seems to know nothing about this gate. (Cf. Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, I, 1, 21.)

[12] In Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII et XV*, 128f.

Sir John Maundeville[13] (1322) writes, "And there beside is the golden gate, which may not be opened, by which gate our Lord entered on Palm Sunday upon an ass; and the gate opened to him when he would go into the temple."

Did time permit, these references might be multiplied indefinitely. But these few citations suffice to indicate that the current tradition with regard to the walling up of this gate by the Moslems rests undoubtedly upon historic grounds. The fact that Arculf, only about a generation after the Moslem conquest of Jerusalem in 636, and Bede, but a half century later, apparently knew nothing of the Golden Gate, is fairly good evidence that it was completely walled up in their day. This conclusion is confirmed by the entire lack of mention of the Golden Gate in the pilgrim literature until 1096, but three years before the establishment of the Latin Kingdom. Then, it is quite obvious, almost with the restoration of Jerusalem to Christian possession the old, walled-up gate was reopened, manifestly in order that the former, traditional rites of Palm Sunday and the Festival of the Cross might be reinstituted. All through the year the gate was kept closed, except upon these two solemn days. Apparently upon the morning of each day the gate was opened, no doubt with due ceremony, and again toward evening it was closed, likewise, we may be sure, with fitting rites. Throughout the existence of the Latin Kingdom these ceremonies continued to be performed. After the recapture of Jerusalem by the Moslems in 1187 the gate was walled up anew.[14] There can be little question that the primary Moslem purpose in thus walling up the Golden Gate, both in 636 and again in 1187 or shortly thereafter, was in order to put an end to the important Christian rites of the solemn opening of the gate on Palm Sunday and the Festival of the Cross with the attendant ceremonies.

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[13] In Wright, *op. cit.*, 168.

The tradition that the footprints of the ass upon which Jesus rode on Palm Sunday when entering the Temple precincts were still visible in the steps leading through the Golden Gate, is recorded also in "Les Pelerinaiges por Aler en Iherusalem" (about 1231) (Michelant et Raynaud, *Itinéraires á Jérusalem aux XI^e, XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 95), "Les Sains Pelerinages" (also about 1231) (*ibid.*, 104^5), "Le Continateur Anonyme de Guillaume de Tyr" (about 1261) (*ibid.*, 166f.), "Les Chemins et les Pelerinages de la Terre Sainte" (about 1265) (*ibid.*, 184), and "Pelerinages et Pardouns de Acre" (about 1280) (*ibid.*, 231). This tradition seems to have been particularly lively during the 12th and 13th centuries.

But in addition to these important rites, a number of traditions centering about the Golden Gate, which we have noted, are of particular significance. Among the reasons for the walling-up of the Gate by the Moslems was that they believed that the destined Christian conqueror of Jerusalem would enter the city by this gate. This tradition recurs in variant forms. Dapper[15] relates that the Turks closed up the gate because they believed "that the king of the whole earth, after the conquest of Jerusalem, would enter the city through it. Moreover, all Mohammedans who formerly entered through this gate used to fall over dead." Likewise "when Boniface (1552–1559) inquired of certain Mohammedan sages why this gate is not opened like other gates, they replied that it had to be kept in reserve for a particular king, without, however, stating who this king might be."

Attention should also be directed to the traditions that the doors of this gate were covered with copper overlaid with gold,[16] that Moslems who tried to enter through it fell over dead, and that the gate hastened of its own accord to open for Jesus, when he entered on Palm Sunday.

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[14] It is not absolutely certain just when this walling-up after the recapture of Jerusalem by the Moslems took place. Petaḥya of Regensburg, usually a reliable authority, apparently found the wall already resealed about 1187 (Grünhut, *Die Rundreise des R. Petachjah aus Regensburg*, XXIII), in other words almost immediately after the Moslems had retaken the city. On the other hand Le Continateur Anonyme de Guillaume de Tyre (in Michelant et Raynaud, *Itinéraires á Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte aux XI*e, *XII*e *et XIII*e *siècles*, 151f.), about 1261, apparently found the gate closed, but in such manner that it could be reopened upon the two annual festivals for the Christian festival processions to pass through. However, the gate was certainly walled up again by the time of Sir John Maundeville (1322), and has remained so until this day. Sepp (*Palästina*, I, 402) records the statement of the Swiss pilgrim, Jodok of Mekken, who visited Jerusalem in 1542, that before his coming there the eastern gate had been closed with wooden doors, until the opening was filled in in the rebuilding of the wall by Soliman II in 1536.

[15] *Asia, oder genaue and gründliche Beschreibung des gantzen Syrien und Palestins* (ed. 1681), II, 282f.

Finally, the significant names of the gate, the Golden Gate, with its two subdivisions, the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of Repentance, the Eternal Gate, and the Morning or Sunrise Gate.

II

IN MEDIAEVAL JEWISH AND MOSLEM WRITERS

References to the Golden Gate in mediaeval Jewish and Moslem writers are almost as numerous and quite as illuminating as in the Christian pilgrim literature.

Mukaddasi[17] (about 985) lists the two gates *Ar-Raḥmah* (i. e. the Golden Gate with its two entrances, *Ar-Raḥmah and At-Taubah*) as one of the thirteen gates leading into the Mosque of Omar, but records no traditions about it.

Náṣir ibn Khusrú, the Persian,[18] (about 1047) says that in the eastern wall of the temple area, if you stand "with your face toward the east, of the two doors that which is on your right hand is styled the Gate of Mercy, and the other the Gate of Penitence. The latter is said to be the one at which the Almighty accepted the contrition of David. . . . Crowds of people flock thither to offer up their supplications, and seek a spiritual intercourse with Almighty God; for inasmuch as David's repentance was accepted on that spot, everybody is inspired with fervent hope, and refrains from sin. They say that; 'Scarcely had David (on whom be peace!) advanced a step inside from this threshold, when, by divine inspiration came the glad tidings that the Most High had accepted his contrition.' "

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[16] Felix Fabri (1480) wrote that he had been told that "the gates were covered with copper plates overlaid with gold. They were always closed, but according to another tradition only since the time when the Moslems began to bury their dead there. The Moslems accounted for the closing-up of the gate in a more natural manner, by saying that thereby the city and the sanctuary were better protected. Meanwhile the tradition of the entrance of Christ through the gate continued. Christians no longer enjoyed the privilege of approaching the gate and touching it. Monkish zeal, however, employed the nights for this purpose. The prohibition was perhaps the result of a forbidden presumption; for the Christians used to draw the nails out of the doors, out of reverence for them, because they believed that they possessed great, magic power. Even some Saracens profited by this superstition of the Christians and secretly sold pieces of the copper plate from off the doors to the pilgrims, who believed that this protected them against apoplexy and epilepsy." (Quoted from Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen*, 176ff.)

[17] Le Strange, *Description of Syria, including Palestine, by Mukaddasi*, 38f. and 46.

[18] In his *Safarnámah*, a portion of which, translated by Fuller, appeared in some journal which I was unable to identify (since I had access only to a reprint of this one article which lacked a title-page), VI (new series), 147; cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 177.

Petaḥya of Regensburg,[19] who visited Jerusalem about 1187, and seemingly just after its recapture by the Moslems, writes, "In Jerusalem there is a gate called the Gate of Mercy.[20] That gate is filled up with stones and plaster. No Jew is permitted to approach thither, and still more so no Gentile. On one occasion the Gentiles sought to remove (the stones and plaster) and to open the gate; but the land of Israel was shaken by an earthquake, and there was a tumult in the city until they ceased. There is a tradition among the Jews that through that gate the Shekinah went forth into exile, and through it is destined to return."

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[19] Grünhut, *Die Rundreise des R. Petachjah aus Regensburg*, XXIII.

[20] Petaḥya calls this gate שערי רחמים, the Hebrew equivalent of the Arabic *Bab-ar-Raḥmah.*

In this connection it is interesting to note that Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Jerusalem about 1163, identified the Golden Gate, the "Gate of Mercy" as he too called it, with the Western Wall of the Temple. (Chap. IX; ed. Eisenstein, *Oẓar Massa'ot*, 26b.) In this he is followed by Samuel b. Samson (about 1210) (*ibid.* 63a), by Isaac Chelo (about 1334) (*ibid.* 72a), and by Uri of Biel (about 1564) (Carmoly *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte des XIII*^{e}, *XIV*^{e}, *XV*^{e}, *XVI*^{e} *et XVII*^{e} *siècles, traduits de l'Hebreu*, 438.) How this confusion between the Golden Gate and the Western Wall could have arisen it is difficult to imagine, unless it be due to the fact that both spots may have been favorite places of prayer for the Jews of the Middle Ages, just as the Western or Wailing Wall continues to be still today. The fact that this confusion seems to have existed only with Jewish travellers would tend to corroborate this hypothesis.

Suyûtî[21] (1470) writes, "The *Bab-ar-Raḥmah* is in the wall of which Allah has made mention in the words (of the Kurán, LVII, 1) 'But between them (the hypocrites and the believers on the judgment day) shall be set a wall with a gateway, within which is Mercy, while without the same is Torment.' The valley which lies beyond this Gate is the Wadi Johannum. The gate referred to in the above verse of the Kurán is now closed, and will only be opened at some future time, and by the will of Allah —be He exalted! And as to the *Bab-at-Taubah*, it joins and makes one with the Gate of Mercy, but through neither of them at present do men pass." Suyûtî also tells that "Abu-Mahomed-Abdullah-Ibn-Mohamed-Al-Herzi related that on the 10th of Muharram of the year 335, 'I asked about the Gate of Compassion (*Bab-ar-Raḥmah*), when, lo! the gate appeared to be of fire on the side nearest the mosque, but of iron on the side nearest the valley (of Jehosaphat).' "

Suyûtî records another interesting tradition;[22] "Solomon, when he had built the Consecrated House, and finished it, closed up the gates, and fastened them, lest they should open: nor were they ever opened until he said, after the words of the prayer of his father David, 'Open ye gates! let the gates be opened!' . . . With respect to opening the gate of the Consecrated House, there was not one of Solomon's attendants who could trust himself to do it. Then came the spirits of the night to do it; but it was too hard a matter for them. Then he called in the aid of men; but it was too hard for them. Then he asked aid of the genii; but it was too hard for them. Then he sat down in grief, thinking that his Lord had forbidden him to open it: and when he was in this mood, there presented himself before him an old man. He was one of the counsellors of David, and he said, 'O prophet of God! I perceive that you are sad.' So he said, 'I resolved to open this gate but it was too difficult for me. Then I summoned the assistance of men and of genii, but neither could open it.' Then said the old man, 'Shall I then inform you of the words which thy father David used when he suffered despondency, when also God relieved him of his sorrow?' He answered, 'Yes.' Then said the old man, 'Say; O God! in thy light will I go the right road; and in thy superabundance will I be contented (will I be satisfied). To thee in the morning, to thee in the evening, will I come. My sins are before thee, O tenderly merciful! O bounteously gracious!' So, when he said these words, the gate opened."

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[21] Le Strange, *op. cit.*, cf. also the translation of Reynolds, *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem*, 126 f., where the translation varies somewhat from that which Le Strange offers.

[22] Reynolds, *op. cit.*, 40 f.

To this Mujîr-ed-Dîn[23] (1495) adds; "I have been told by one of the ancient inhabitants that the one who had these two gates blocked up was Omar ibn el-Khattab, Commander of the Faithful, and that they will not be reopened except when the Lord Jesus, son of Mary, shall descend, upon whom be peace!"

Israel of Jerusalem,[24] (1523) wrote, "In the eastern wall there is a gate called the Gate of Mercy. And it is said that the Moslems have often tried to close it up, but without success. And they have tried to seal it up with stones in every way, but without success. So below the earth they built a structure to close it up, but completed only half of it. And it is closed with a gate of iron,[25] and no man is permitted to enter; nor do the Moslems permit any one to draw near. And it is told that at the time of King Taigor some Jews who were with him tried to enter, but all of them fell over dead."

The evidence of these mediaeval Jewish and Moslem writers confirms the conclusions drawn from the Christian pilgrim literature with regard to the dates of the original sealing of the Golden Gate, its unwalling and its ultimate resealing. They likewise record a number of new traditions about this eastern gate, that it opened at times of its own accord, but at other times, when seemingly unwilling, the gates could be opened only with extreme difficulty, if at all, and then only by the recital of a verse which, on the one hand bears all the earmarks of a magic formula, and on the other hand, in its wording, "Open ye gates! let the gates be opened!," attributed to David, reminds strongly of Ps. 118.19, "Open for me, ye gates of righteousness." Furthermore, the name "Gates of Righteousness" in this verse, together with the verse immediately following, "This is the gate for Yahwe; the righteous may enter through it," suggests in turn the tradition frequently cited by these mediaeval Jewish and Moslem writers, that at this gate the righteous and also repentant sinners, of whom David was the arch-type, used to gather to supplicate divine pardon and favor.

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[23] Translation of Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, 127.

[24] Castelli, in Luncz, *Jerusalem*, II (1889), 99; also *Sammelband*, *Mekitze Nirdamim*, 1889, 26.

[25] Meshullam of Volterra (1481) (Luncz, *Jerusalem*, I [1881], 202f.; Eisenstein, *Ozar Massa'ot*, 100a) likewise records the fact that the "Gate of Mercy" was of iron, and was walled up, and also sunk two cubits into the earth, while it projected four cubits above the ground. Obadiah of Bertinoro (1487–1489) (Eisenstein, *op. cit.*, 119b) also writes that the "Gate of Mercy" had two wickets of iron, of which one sees no more than half above ground, for the other half is buried in the earth, and thus the gate is blocked up. He was told that the Moslems had often tried to free these from the earth, but without success.

Of more than passing significance are the two obviously related traditions, that the Shekinah went forth from the Temple through this gate, and that at the appointed time Jesus is destined to reenter through it. With the former tradition must be correlated a name of the Gate of Mercy which Náṣir ibn Khusrú heard, but which he mistakenly applied to another gate in the eastern wall, *Babu-s-Sakinah*, the Gate of the Shekinah.

And finally, the tradition that on different occasions persons, whether Jews or Moslems, who tried to pass through this gate, fell over dead.

III

IN EARLY CHRISTIAN AND RABBINIC LITERATURE

As we trace these traditions backward through early Christian and rabbinic literature to the Bible itself, we find them recurring in ever new, larger and more significant forms, while other, kindred traditions come to light, also centering about the eastern gate.

And first a tradition recorded by Josephus[26] and repeated by Eusebius;[27] shortly before the destruction of the Temple by the

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[26] *Wars*, VI, 5, 3.

[27] *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 8, 4.

Romans, when the people were assembled at Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, on the 8th day of Nisan,[28] the inner eastern gate, which was of bronze, and so heavy that at eventide twenty men could scarcely close it, and which was fastened by a bar of iron, and at its base had a deep bolt, at the sixth hour of the night, i. e. at midnight, was found to have opened of itself. This tradition is of extreme significance. This 8th day of Nisan can hardly have been the Passover festival itself, for this came exactly one week later. But it may very well have fallen upon the Sunday preceding the Passover festival, viz. Palm Sunday. In such case this tradition records another and early instance of the opening of the eastern gate upon Palm Sunday. Moreover, the incidental reference to the closing of the gate at eventide, does not imply at all that the gate was opened every day, but only that upon those annual occasions when it was opened, it was regularly closed again at eventide. Another significant detail of this tradition is that upon this particular occasion the gate opened of its own accord.

This tradition occurs in a slightly variant form in the Talmud.[29] During the forty years preceding the destruction of the Temple the gates opened of their own accord, until R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai rebuked them. This was one of the signs of the impending destruction of the Temple.[30] The Tal-

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[28] Eusebius; Josephus of course calls the month Xanthicus.

[29] Jer. Yoma, VI, 43c; B. Yoma, 39b; cf. also B. Rosh Hashana, 31a.

[30] The Talmud does not state the occasion upon which these gates opened of their own accord, nor which gates of the Temple these were. However, we have already had a number of traditions of the voluntary opening and closing of the eastern gate. In particular both Josephus and Eusebius record the same tradition as the Talmud, and state specifically that the eastern gate was the gate in question. We may therefore conclude with safety that the gate of the Talmudic tradition is likewise the eastern gate.

Moreover, this same Talmudic tradition records three additional signs of the impending destruction of the Temple. One of these was that the lot, drawn for Yahwe in the ceremony of the goat of Azazel, never came into the right hand of the high priest during these entire forty years. Another was that during this same period the tuft of red wool, affixed to the door of the Temple, did not turn white at the moment of the death of the goat of Azazel, as a token of divine forgiveness of Israel's sins. Now it is significant that both of these signs concern the celebration of Yom Kippur. We may theremud[31] records still another traditional sign of the impending destruction of the Temple, viz. that during the forty years preceding that event the western candelabrum in the Temple would not burn. Although it contained no more oil than the other lamps, this western candelabrum had always burned for the full period of twenty-four hours, and so had never before been extinguished. This was, so the Talmud says, a sign of the presence of the Shekinah in the Temple. Therefore the failure of this lamp to burn during the forty years immediately preceding the destruction of the Temple, implied that the Shekinah had departed. And since the other tradition tells that at the beginning of these forty years the gate of the Temple had opened of its own accord, we may infer that the full tradition told that the gate in question was the eastern gate, and that it had opened at this particular moment in order to permit the Shekinah to pass out through it. Just this is the tradition which is recorded by Petaḥya of Regensburg.

We have noted the Moslem tradition that the eastern gate of the Temple marked the place of David's repentance and its

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fore infer perhaps that the first sign, viz. that the eastern gate of the Temple opened of its own accord, also was connected in some way with the celebration of Yom Kippur. Some slight confirmation of this inference may be found in the additional tradition that ordinarily the sound of the opening of the gate could be heard as far as eight Sabbath distances, or sixteen thousand paces. And inasmuch as the same tradition states that the voice of the high-priest in the Yom Kippur ceremonies was audible as far as Jericho, it follows doubtless that the opening of the gates, likewise heard at a great distance, was also a ceremony of this day.

From all this it is clear that while Josephus and Eusebius record a tradition of the voluntary opening of the eastern gate of the Temple in connection with the celebration of the Passover festival, on a day which may well have been Palm Sunday, the Talmud, on the other hand, records the same tradition in connection with Yom Kippur. And of the observance of this ceremony upon Yom Kippur we shall have more specific and convincing evidence later. But from all this it follows that the mediaeval Christian rites of the solemn opening of the eastern gate of the Temple upon the mornings of Palm Sunday and the Festival of the Cross, and their equally solemn closing at the end of these days, were merely survivals of older rites which played a role of considerable importance in Judaism in the ritual of the Temple.

[31] Shabbat, 22b; Menaḥot, 86b.

acceptance by the Almighty. The Talmud[32] preserves an interesting and significant form of this tradition. "R. Judah said in the name of Rab: What is the meaning of the scriptural passage, 'Show me a token for good, so that those who hate me may behold and be put to shame' (Ps. 86.17)? David said before God, 'Master of the world, forgive me that sin (with Bathsheba)'. God said to him, 'Thou art forgiven.' He said to Him, 'Show me a token thereof during my lifetime.' He said to him, 'In thy lifetime I will show thee naught, but in the lifetime of Solomon, thy son, I will show it.' When Solomon built the Temple, he sought to carry the ark into the holy of holies, but the gates held fast together. Solomon recited twenty-four songs of praise (the first twenty-four psalms), but to no effect. Then when he began, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may come in' (Ps. 24.7), the gates ran after him to swallow him up. They said, 'Who is this King of Glory?'. He answered them, 'Yahwe, strong and mighty,' and then continued, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and raise yourselves up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter. Who is this King of Glory? Yahwe Ṣebaot, He is the King of Glory. Selah.' But still he was not answered. But when he said, 'O Lord, turn not away the face of Thine anointed; remember David, Thy servant, for mercy' (II Chron. 6.42), he was answered immediately. At that moment the faces of all the enemies of David became (black) like the bottom of a pot, for all the people and all Israel knew that God had forgiven him that sin."[33] This Talmudic tradition does not state that thereupon the gates of the Temple were opened, for it loses itself in a different direction, but certainly this is implied. And it is extremely significant that here too the opening of the gates is associated with the recital of the second half of Ps. 24, and that the Rabbis apparently identified the gates of this psalm with the eastern gate of the Temple. It is noteworthy that the Psalm even applies to these gates a name פתחי עולם, "The Everlasting Doors," which is practically identical with one of the common designations of this gate today, "The Eternal Gate."

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[32] Shabbat, 30a; cf. Aptowitzer, "The Rewarding and Punishing of Animals, etc.," *HUCA*, III (1926), 154, note 84; Scheftelowitz, *Alt-Palästinensischer Bauernglaube*, 33, and the references cited in both these passages.

[33] This tradition must be correlated with the facts recorded by Náṣir ibn Khusrú (above, p. 7), that of the two doors which together make the Golden Gate, the one called *Bab-et-Taubah*, "Gate of Repentance," was the place where the Almighty accepted the contrition of David. Because of this, he says, "crowds of people flock thither to offer up their supplications and seek a spiritual intercourse with Almighty God; for inasmuch as David's repentance was accepted on that spot, everybody is inspired with fervent hope and refrains from sin." Therefore the names, "*Bab et-Taubah*," "Gate of Repentance," and *Bab ar-Raḥmah*, "Gate of Mercy."

In this connection an early Christian tradition[34] is of particular import. "And again he (the angel) said to me; Come, follow me, and I shall show thee the place of the righteous. And I followed him, and he set me before the doors of the city. And I saw a golden gate, and two golden pillars before it, and two golden plates upon it full of inscriptions. And the angel said to me: Blessed is he who shall enter into these doors: because not every one goeth in, but only those who have single-mindedness and guiltlessness and a pure heart.[35] And I asked the angel: For what purpose have the inscriptions been engraven on these plates? and he said to me: These are the names of the righteous, and of those who serve God."

Several details of this tradition must be noted. First, not every one enters through this gate, but only the righteous. Therefore this is the place of the righteous, and their names are engraved upon the golden plates upon the gates. The tradi-

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Still another kindred Moslem tradition is recorded by Luncz (*Jerusalem*, V [1891], 241), without, however, giving his sources. He says, "Actually this gate is so called (Gate of Mercy) because, according to their (the Moslems') words, in the days of the Temple every sin and transgression were written upon the forehead of the sinner and upon the door of his house; and the Children of Israel would hold aloof from him. Then every one of those sinners would come to this gate to weep there, until the mark upon his forehead and upon the door of his house was blotted out; then they knew that his repentance had been accepted and that his sin had departed and that his trespass had been atoned for forever. But if the mark was not blotted out, then they would remove him and put him away from their presence."

[34] In *The Revelation of Paul*, in *A Select Library of the Ante-Nicene Fathers* (ed. Roberts and Donaldson), VIII, 577.

[35] Cf. Ps. 24.3f., and note that again this psalm is associated with this gate.

tion does not state specifically that this is the eastern gate of the Temple. But since it does say explicitly that this is a golden gate, we may safely infer that it is our Golden Gate.

This conclusion is confirmed somewhat by the application to this gate of Ps. 24.3ff., since these verses speak of ascending the mountain of Yahwe and entering directly into the holy place, for through this gate the ascent from the Valley of Jehosaphat led directly into the Temple area. Moreover, the reference in v. 5 of the psalm, that he who enters with clean hands and a pure heart shall receive the judgment of righteousness from God, has in the tradition correlated this psalm passage with the gates upon which the names of the righteous were engraved. But this fact and the tradition itself that this gate marked the place of the righteous, and that only the righteous could enter through it, suggest what was in all likelihood an ancient, if not actually the original name of this gate, viz. the Gates of Righteousness, the שערי צדק, of Ps. 118.19.[35a]

This tradition establishes also that the most general name of this gate today, the Golden Gate, was not coined by the Crusaders, as has been suggested, but was of much greater antiquity.[36] This conclusion is confirmed by another early Christian tradition,[37] that Anna met her husband, Joachim, at the Golden Gate and announced that she had conceived Mary. Moreover, this gate was so called because it was overlaid with gold.

[35a] In fact it seems quite probable that just because שערי צדק, "Gates of Righteousness," was the original name of this gate, the traditions arose, consciously or unconsciously, and already in Biblical times (cf. Ps. 118.20), that through this gate the righteous were wont to enter, and that the names of the righteous were engraved upon the golden plates upon the gates. Obviously both traditions attempt to account for the name at a time when its original meaning was no longer clearly understood. What this original meaning was is a matter to be determined upon some other occasion.

[36] From Saewulf (1102) on this gate was known to the Christian pilgrims as the "Golden Gate." But this name is not met with in Christian pilgrim literature earlier than this. Robinson (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, I, 322) says, "The name *Porta aurea*, as applied to this gate, I have not been able to trace back further than to the historians of the crusades. It probably comes from some supposed connection with one of the ancient gates of the temple, which are said to have been covered with gold." He then continues (*ibid.*, note 8), "Quaresmius professes to quote Jerome for the name, but gives no reference whatever; *Elucid.* II, p. 336. The name *Porta aurea* occurs indeed in Hegesippus, *de Excidio Hieros.*, Lib. 5, c.42, in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum*, Tom. V, p. 1203. But the author is there obviously speaking of a gate of the

The Talmud[38] has likewise the following tradition. R. Jose defined the four cardinal directions thus; from the point where the sun rises on the solstice of Tammuz (the summer solstice) to the point where it rises on the solstice of Tebet (the winter solstice) is the east. From the point where the sun sets on the solstice of Tebet to the point where it sets on the solstice of

ancient interior temple or fane itself." De Vogüé (*Le Temple de Jérusalem*, 12) and others explain the name *porta aurea* as a popular Latin corruption of the older Greek name *porta horaea*, "Beautiful Gate," no longer understood by the Crusaders. This assumption is, however, certainly unwarranted For both Antoninus Martyr (about 570) and the author of the *Civitas Ierusalem* (1096) call this gate in Latin *porta speciosa*, apparently a literal translation of the Greek name, *porta horaea*. It is clear therefore that the meaning of the Greek name was not unknown in crusading times, and therefore that the name *porta aurea*, or "Golden Gate," must be accounted for in some better way.

Mujîr-ed-Dîn (*op. cit.*, 59) relates that when the Mosque of Omar was repaired by the Caliph Al-Manṣûr in the year 130 of the Hegira, he commanded that they remove the plates of gold and silver which covered the gates of the Mosque, and coin this precious metal in order to pay for this work. The implication of this statement is that when the Mosque had been built by the Caliph Abd-el-Melik, he had decorated all the gates in this manner (so also Luncz, in *Jerusalem*, V [1891], 242), and that the eastern gate was not distinguished from the other gates by any particular ornamentation in gold. But it is difficult indeed to separate the name "Golden Gate," with its particular implication, from this tradition and to refrain from inferring either that this gate must have been decorated in some extraordinary manner, or else that, instead of all the gates of the Mosque being covered with gold and silver, it was the only gate finished in this manner, or else, perhaps, that the other gates were overlaid with silver and this one alone with gold. At any rate this record indicates that the name *porta aurea* or "Golden Gate" may very well have been considerably older than crusading times. And the early Christian traditions which we are now considering, confirm this conclusion absolutely, and establish beyond all doubt that the name "Golden Gate" is of great antiquity, that it goes back to Jewish, and perhaps even to Biblical antecedents, and that its origin and explanation must be found in altogether different considerations. (Cf. below, note 44.)

[37] In the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*, in *op. cit.*, VIII, 385; also in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, in *op. cit.*, VIII, 370.

[38] Jer. 'Erubin, V, 22c.

Tammuz is west. The intervening distances are north and south respectively. Therefore (because east and west are such extensive dimensions, and the relative position of sun and earth varies materially from day to day), continued R. Aḥa in the name of Samuel, the son of R. Isaac, the early prophets had extreme difficulty in so fashioning the eastern gate that the sun would shine directly through it (literally, "press upon it") on the day of the solstice of Tebet and on the day of the solstice of Tammuz.

This tradition is the most significant met thus far. It implies definitely that the early prophets, i. e. the religious leaders of the remote pre-exilic period, held it to be of imperative necessity that on two days of the year the sun shine directly through this eastern gate. It states, moreover, that these were the two days of the summer and winter solstices; and it adds that extreme difficulty was experienced in bringing this about, because, as we might put it today, at the summer solstice the sun reaches, with relation to the earth, its extreme northern point in the heaven, and at the winter solstice it is at its extreme southern point. Modern astronomy tells that it would be altogether impossible for the sun to shine directly in through the eastern gate on the two solstitial days, but that on the two equinoctial days this would necessarily take place. And since the tradition insists that on two significant days in the year the sun had to shine directly through this eastern gate, and implies that this was an important religious rite, it follows that this actually happened on the days of the spring and fall equinoxes, and not, as the Rabbis of the Talmud, having only a vague reminiscence of what had been the actual practice in the Temple some eight centuries or more before their time, naively imagined, upon the two solstitial days.[39]

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[39] Probably a Christian variant of this tradition is that first mentioned seemingly by Arculf (XIII; cf. Tobler, *Itinera et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Lingua Latina Saec. IV-XI Exarata*, 156f.; Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 3), then by the Venerable Bede (III; Tobler, *op. cit.*, 219), and constantly recurring in the pilgrim literature down to the present day, that Jerusalem is known to be the center of the world (cf. Ps. 74.12) because in the center of the Church of the Sepulcher is a stone column so situated that at noon on

Now it is of utmost significance that, working on altogether independent, astronomical grounds, Charlier[40] reached exactly the same conclusion, that the Temple must have been so built that on the two annual equinoctial days the first rays of the rising sun shone directly in through the eastern gate. He has shown furthermore that these two equinoctial days were the 1st

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the day of the summer solstice it casts no shadow whatsoever; and since at that moment the sun is in the very center of the heaven, and directly above this stone, and no shadow is cast by it, it follows that this must be the center of the earth.

Again we know from modern astronomical science that something approximating this condition, although not fulfilling it completely, since Jerusalem is situated some nine degrees north of the Tropic of Cancer, could well happen on the day of the spring equinox, but would be altogether out of the question at the summer solstice. The confusion of the summer solstice with the spring equinox in this tradition, parallels the similar confusion in the Talmudic tradition, and suggests that both of these traditions spring from a common source, and evidence the significant role which, not the solstices, but the equinoxes played in the ancient Temple rites which in time gave rise to these two traditions.

[40] "Ein astronomischer Beitrag zur Exegese des Alten Testaments," *ZDMG*, 58 (1904), 386–394.

Somewhat similarly v. Gall ("Ein neues astronomisch zu erschliessendes Datum," in the Budde *Festschrift*, 59) has concluded, "Wahrscheinlich wurde die Längachse des Tempels so konstruiert, dass an zwei bestimmten Tagen des Jahres, entsprechend dem 22. Mai, 948, die Strahlen der über dem Oelberg aufgehenden Sonne längs dieser Achse fielen und bei geöffneten Türen in das Allerheiligste drangen." V. Gall reached this conclusion through consideration of the dates of two solar eclipses during the reign of Solomon and a coordination of one of these with the account of the dedication of Solomon's Temple in I Ki. 8, and especially vv. 12f. It is interesting indeed that, quite independently, he should have reached the same conclusion as Charlier with regard to the position of the Temple with relation to the rising sun. But in the light of the manifold evidence which we have gathered, bearing upon the equinoctial rites within the Temple in connection with the eastern gate and the shining of the first rays of the rising sun through it on these two significant days of the year, it is obvious that, not v. Gall's, but Charlier's conclusion must be correct, and that the solar position of the Temple must be correlated with the rising of the sun upon the two annual equinoctial days, and not upon the day of a solar eclipse. A further argument against v. Gall's hypothesis is the fact that in connection with an eclipse the significant moment would be that of the reappearance of the first rays of the sun after the eclipse, and not at sunrise, as v. Gall suggests.

of the first month and the 10th of the seventh month, the latter the late Biblical Yom Kippur, which was, however, celebrated originally, in the period immediately preceding and during the exile, and continuing until late in the post-exilic period, in fact until some time after Ezra, as Rosh Hashanah, the New Year's Day.[41] The evidence of these facts and traditions seems to indicate more and more positively that the shining of the first rays of the rising sun directly in through the eastern gate on the two equinoctial days was, at least so far as the fall equinox was concerned, an ancient and important New Year's Day rite.

This same Talmudic passage then tells that this eastern gate had seven different names. Of these four, and possibly five, can be identified with Biblical names of gates in the wall of Jerusalem, all of which refer to this eastern gate.[42] Of these seven

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[41] Cf. my "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA*, I (1924), 13–78.

[42] The seven names which the Talmud cites for this eastern gate are שער סור, "Gate of Turning," שער היסוד, Gate of the Foundation," שער חריסית, "Sun Gate," שער איתון, "Strong (?) Gate," שער התוך, "Middle Gate," שער חדש, "New Gate," and שער עליון, "Upper Gate." The Gemara seeks to explain each of these names, but in every case the explanation is fanciful and of no scientific value. Three of these names are mentioned explicitly in the Bible, שער סור in II Ki. 11.6, שער היסוד in II Chron. 23.5, and שער התוך in Jer. 39.3. None of these gates has thus far been identified. But שער סור of II Ki. 11.6 is identical with שער היסוד of II Chron. 23.5 (so already Rashi to II Chron. 23.5). On the other hand, surprisingly enough LXX renders בשער היסוד of II Chron. 23.5 ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῇ μέσῃ; i. e. its Hebrew original read, not בשער היסוד, but בשער התוך, just as in Jer. 39.3. Obviously then these two names were in ancient times synonymous and interchangeable. The versions differ greatly in their renderings of שער סור in II Ki. 11.6, and it is clear that they could make nothing of it. Kittel (*Commentary*, 247) proposes the reading שער הסוס, with reference to v. 16 and Jer. 31.39 and Neh. 3.28. But a simpler explanation would be to regard סור as a corruption of היסוד.

It is also by no means improbable that for שער הסוסים of Jer. 31.39 we should read either שער היסוד or שער חריסית (cf. below). It is significant that the verse states explicitly that this gate is on the east, and furthermore it adds the note (in all likelihood a late gloss, altogether unessential to, and even disturbing in the text) that "it shall not be torn down nor be destroyed forever." Certainly these words, whether a late gloss or not, can not refer to העמק, the subject of the sentence, but only to שער הסוסים. But this statement, and all the more so if it be a late gloss, identifies this gate with the Golden Gate, which according to quite a number of traditions which we names one is of particular significance, שער חריסית, "Sun Gate." Obviously this gate could have received this name only

have recorded, was popularly believed to be of very great antiquity, and was destined never to be destroyed, and is therefore still known as the "Eternal Gate." Perhaps too the שער הסוסים of Neh. 3.28, which is also apparently an eastern gate, should likewise be read שער היסוד or שער חריסית.

Ezek. 40.15 speaks of the שער היאתון. For this the Q're has שער האיתון, identical with one of the Talmudic names of the eastern gate. Cornill and Kraetzschmar both reject the Q're and would read שער האתיון, "Gate of Entrance," deriving the word from the Aramaic אתא, precisely as the fanciful explanation of the Gemara does. But on the one hand, there is absolutely no evidence that such a name as שער האתיון, and one so colorless too, ever existed; and on the other hand, the Talmudic tradition that שער האיתון was actually one of the ancient names of this eastern gate, lends strong confirmation to the Q're.

Finally, Jer. 19.2 mentions the שער הַחֲרְסִית. This name is interpreted by Targum Jonathan, Rashi and Kimḥi, in accordance with the Q're, as "The Gate of Potsherds," and is identified by them with the שער האשפות, "The Dung Gate," of Neh. 2.13; 3.13f; 12.31. Dapper (*Asien*, *etc*., II, 275f.), however, has suggested very happily, and in this the Authorized Version has followed him, that this name should be interpreted as "The Sun Gate." In such case it would be identified with the שער חריסית of the Talmud. Not improbably the Biblical name should be vocalized accordingly חֲרְסִית. Furthermore, this address of the prophet, whether genuine (so most commentators) or fictitious (so Duhm, *Commentary*; Hölscher, in *ZAW* 40 [1922], 233f.), must have as its historical setting one of the two annual occasions when this eastern Temple gate was opened; and the idolatrous rites denounced in this address must have been performed as a part of the celebration of this festival-day.

The same conclusion holds true with regard to the famous Temple address of Jeremiah, in chapters 7 and 26. It is immaterial whether this address too be ascribed as a whole to the prophet, or whether, as Duhm and Hölscher (*op. cit.*) maintain, only the nucleus thereof, and particularly the more poetic portions, be the actual utterance of Jeremiah. Certainly the background of the address in its present form is that of an important festival, characterized by peculiar, non-Yahwistic rites, particularly the gathering of wood by the children, the kindling of fires therewith by their fathers, and the baking of cakes in honor of the Queen of Heaven by their mothers, and the pouring out of incense to strange deities (vv. 17–19). The discussion of the full import of these rites and of their connection with the celebration of the ancient festivals must be reserved for treatment elsewhere. Suffice it to state here that the Book of Jeremiah contains frequent references to the practice of kindling fires in the streets and upon the roofs of the houses of Jerusalem and of burning because of some connection with the sun. In fact the Talmud

incense to the Queen of Heaven therein (11.13; 19.13; 32.29; 44.1–25), and that identically the same practices survive in present-day Palestine and throughout the Near East in connection with the celebration of various festivals, the origins of which can be traced back easily to ancient Canaanite solar-agricultural festivals. Chief among these perhaps is the Festival of the Cross, on Sept. 14th, the direct historical continuation, according to Christian tradition, of the ancient Sukkot-festival. That these fires of the Festival of the Cross are identical with those of the *simḥat bet hašo'ebah*, an important part of the semi-official, semi-folk celebration of the Sukkot-festival in the days of the second Temple, about which Biblical legislation is significantly silent, but which is fully recognized and even legitimized in the Mishna (Sukkah, V), is beyond question. And their significance as equinoctial festival rites is recognized by all students of the history of religion.

According to Jer. 26.1, this address was delivered at the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim. As Volz (*Commentary*) has suggested, the likelihood is great that the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim and of all kings of Israel was thought to date from the New Year's Day. According to the Mishna (Rosh Hashana, I, 1) the 1st of Nisan, also an equinoctial day (cf. Charlier, "Ein astronomischer Beitrag zur Exegese des Alten Testaments," *ZDMG*, 58 [1904], 386–394), was the New Year's Day for kings, i. e. the years of their reigns were reckoned from this date. In all probability, however, in the pre-exilic period, and with the calendar then in vogue, the reigns of kings were reckoned from the official New Year's Day on the 10th of the seventh month, the day following the close of the Sukkot-festival, one of the two annual occasions when, as we have seen, the eastern gate of the Temple was opened for the festival celebration. This consideration corroborates our conclusion as to the occasion and date of this address.

And actually it does seem that this address was delivered at the eastern gate, opened just for the festival celebration of this day. According to 26.2 the prophet had taken his stand in the court of the Temple; but according to 7.2 he was standing in the gate of the Temple. There is no contradiction here; for a position just at the inner entrance of the gate, leading into the Temple court might well be designated in either manner. Obviously the gates were open, for according to 7.2 the people were entering through them in order to prostrate themselves before Yahwe. It is significant too that, whereas 7.2a uses the singular, בשער בית יהוה, 7.2b describes what is unquestionably the very same gate by the plural, בשערים האלה. The explanation of the plural here is not at all that which Duhm (*Commentary*) proposes, the same as in 22.2; for there the reference is obviously to the various gates of the king's palace, while here it is to one specific gate of the Temple, the very gate in which Jeremiah is represented as standing. Rather the use of the plural here becomes self-explanatory when we remember that just this eastern, gate of the Temple has always been represented, even down to the present day, as it seems to have always actually been, as a double gate, with its two says explicitly that it was so called because it faced the rising sun.

sections known still today as the "Gate of Mercy" and the "Gate of Repentance;" therefore the use of the plural, with reference to this same eastern gate as we shall see, in Psalms 24.7–10 and 118.19. (Note also the use of the singular in 118.20, alongside of the plural in the preceding verse, but obviously referring to the same eastern gate, just as in Jer. 7.2.)

Moreover, just this spot was the most appropriate place for an address of denunciation, threatening the very destruction of the Temple; for, as we have seen, according to present-day, popular tradition, the ancient origins of which are unmistakable, just this eastern gate was believed to be the one, eternal, indestructible portion of the Temple, which had stood from the very erection of the sacred edifice, and was destined to stand until the end of time, until the Messiah should come and enter through it; therefore the name, the "Eternal Gate," the פתחי עולם, of Ps. 24.7 and the *Bab-ud-dahriyyeh* of modern parlance. Here was the logical place for the announcement of the closely impending destruction of the Temple, so altogether contrary to what was obviously the popular faith of the day, the generally accepted guarantee of the eventual deliverance of the people (v. 4). Small wonder that the prophet's words, spoken at this spot and upon this occasion, should have stirred up such bitter opposition and that he should have been charged with having uttered blasphemy.

The historical background of this address is therefore almost self-evident, and leaves little doubt of the correctness of our conclusion that the occasion, whether historical or fictitious, it matters little for our purpose, of this Temple address of Jeremiah was the New Year's day, in the year 608 B. C. of our present system of reckoning, when, according to the ancient ritual, this eastern gate of the Temple was thrown open at dawn to greet the first rays of the rising sun, and remained open throughout the day and until sunset for the various rites of the festival celebration.

To return to the primary point under discussion in this important note, it seems from all this that שער עליון and שער חדש are the only ones of the seven Talmudic names of the eastern gate of the Temple which have no Biblical antecedents; and even this is not absolutely certain. Ezek. 9.2 speaks of the "Upper Gate" of the Temple, but states explicitly that this gate faced northward. This gate must unquestionably be identified with the "Upper Gate of Benjamin" of Jer. 20.2. The very fact that it faced northward, i. e. toward Benjamin, would account for this latter name. On the other hand, II Ki. 15.35 and II Chron. 27.3 tell that Jotham, the son of Uzziah, built the "Upper Gate." The fact that this is singled out as the one, outstanding event of Jotham's reign indicates that this gate must have enjoyed some unusual significance. Perhaps too the very fact that the reference to this gate follows immediately upon the mention of the non-Yahwistic rites still unsuppressed in the days of Jotham, may indicate that this gate had some connection therewith, just as, as we shall see, the eastern gate of the Temple actually

Lack of time forbids more than passing mention of a number of illuminating traditions about this eastern gate.[43] One in particular appears in various forms, viz. that a golden plate or an image, shaped either like a candelabrum, or perhaps also like the sun itself, was affixed to this gate. From it the first rays of the rising sun were reflected; thereby the people, gathered in the Temple court just before dawn, knew when to recite the *Shema'* in the morning prayer. Likewise the various traditions

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did have. It is therefore by no means impossible that this "Upper Gate" of II Ki. 15.35 and II Chron. 37.3 is not at all the same as the "Upper Gate" of Ezek. 9.2 and the "Upper Gate of Benjamin" of Jer. 20.2, which faced northward, but may be an altogether different gate, the same as our Golden Gate. Moreover, the statement in II Ki. 15.35 and II Chron. 27.3 that Jotham built this gate, i. e. long after the erection of the Temple proper by Solomon, might well account for the other traditional name, "New Gate." Jer. 36.10 calls one of the gates of the Temple the "New Gate," without, however, indicating which gate this was or where it was located. But the very fact that this gate is located in proximity to the upper court and to one of the Temple chambers, probably indicates that this gate was on the east, since the various courts of the Temple, and also its chambers, at least for the most part, were at the eastern entrance to the Temple. These considerations seem to indicate therefore that both Talmudic names, "Upper Gate" and "New Gate," may also have Biblical antecedents.

[43] An interesting tradition is recorded in the Pesiḳta de-Rab Kahana (ed. Buber, 137a) and the Pesiḳta rabbati (c. 32; ed. Friedman, 149a) and repeated in somewhat fuller form in Midrash Tehillim, LXXXVII, 2 (ed. Buber, 189a), that R. Joḥanan was once expounding the passage, "And I will make thy pinnacles of rubies and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of precious stones" (Is. 54.12) thus, "In the future God will create the great gate of the Temple, with its two doors, of one precious stone." A man who heard this exposition objected, "How can this be possible, since nowadays we find no precious stones of even the size of an egg?" He was sailing upon the sea, when the ship sank. Then God caused him to see, and behold, the ministering angels were chiselling and sawing. He said, "What is this?" And he was told, "This is the great gate of the Temple." The version of this tradition in Midrash Tehillim adds the detail that the dimensions of the precious stone, which was destined to be set in the great gate of the Temple, were ten by twenty cubits. It gives also another version of this tradition in the name of R. Pinḥas the Priest, the son of Ḥama, that a certain pious man was once taking a walk and was wondering at the exposition of this passage of Isaiah, and asking himself, "Is it possible that the great gate with its two doors should be made of a single stone?", when suddenly he saw such a stone come up from the sea.

bearing upon the inner eastern gate, known as the Nikanor Gate, to which various miracles are said to have happened.[44]

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[44] Yoma, III, 10 tells that Queen Helena, the mother of King Monabaz of Adiabene, made a golden *nebrašta* upon (or above) the door of the sanctuary. She also made a golden tablet upon which the Biblical passage dealing with the woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5) was written. And as for Nikanor, miracles happened to his doors. For these reasons they remembered these persons for praise.

The Gemara comments upon these three traditions in order. Of the first it says (B. Yoma, 37b) that at the moment when the sun rose, rays of light came forth from the *nebrašta*, so that the people knew that it was time to recite the morning *Shema*ʻ. Jer. Yoma, III, 41a is somewhat more explicit. It tells first that two Amoraim differed in their interpretation of *nebrašta*; one said that it meant "candelabrum," as in Dan. 5.5, while the other said that it meant "a vessel shaped like a conch-shell." Aquila, however, translated it "candelabrum." In connection with the second tradition, that Helena made a golden tablet upon the door of the sanctuary, Jer. Yoma, III, 41a relates what B. Yoma, 37b had correlated with the previous tradition, that when the sun rose rays (or sparks) would shoot forth from this golden tablet, so that the people would know therefrom that the sun had risen (and that it was therefore time to recite the morning *Shema*ʻ [cf. Ber., I, 2].

(In this connection a statement of Mukaddasi [Le Strange, *Description of Syria, Including Palestine, by Mukaddasi*, 46] is interesting and even not without some significance. "At the dawn, when the light of the sun first strikes on the Cupola [of the Mosque of Omar], and the Drum catches the rays, then is this edifice a marvelous sight to behold, and one such that in all Islam I have never seen its equal." From this passage it is clear that the Temple site is such that any structure upon it can catch and reflect the first rays of the rising sun. Not improbably, as we shall see, this very fact was a primary consideration in the original selection of this site for a great sanctuary.)

From all this it seems that the Rabbis of the Talmud had no definite knowledge, but only a vague tradition, that some golden object was affixed to the eastern gate of the Temple (and not to a gate on the west side of the Temple, as Rashi, to B. Yoma, 37b mistakenly states), and that from it the first rays of the rising sun were reflected. Moreover, it requires only a moment's thought to realize that this reflection of the first rays of the rising sun could have served as a sign that the exact moment to recite the morning *Shema*ʻ had come only to people gathered in front of the gate to which this golden tablet was affixed, in other words, to people assembled in the eastern court or courts of the Temple, and not to the people in general, scattered throughout the city of Jerusalem. And furthermore, since the first rays of the rising sun would not strike directly upon this golden tablet affixed to the eastern gate of the Temple in such manner as to be reflected upon the people gathered in the courts of the Temple before this gate upon every day of the year, but only upon one, or at the most two days of the year, it follows that this tradition, with whatever historical basis it may possess, must reflect the practice in the Temple, not upon every day in the year, but only upon one, or at the most two annual occasions. And since this tradition is recorded in connection with other traditions relating to Yom Kippur, it may be inferred that Yom Kippur was one of the two possible annual occasions when the first rays of the rising sun were reflected from the golden object upon the eastern gate of the Temple upon the people gathered in the Temple courts, and the actual historical occasion when this procedure was carried out.

Of the third tradition of the Mishna the Gemara says (B. Yoma, 38a; Jer. Yoma, III, 41a) that when Nikanor went to bring the doors of the Temple from Alexandria in Egypt, upon his return voyage a mighty storm arose upon the sea and threatened to sink the ship. They took one of the doors and cast it into the sea, but still the raging of the sea was not stayed. They sought to cast the second door overboard; but he took it in his arms and said, "Cast me overboard with it." Immediately the sea subsided. He grieved about the first door. But when they reached the mole of Akko, it bobbed up and came forth from under the side of the ship. And some say that a sea-monster swallowed it, and vomited it forth upon the dry land. . . . Therefore all the gates of the Temple seemed to be of gold except the gates of Nikanor, because miracles were done with them; but some say, because their copper was highly polished. R. Eliezer b. Jacob said that it was of polished copper and more beautiful than gold (so also Mid., XI, 3). Moreover, we are told that this gate of Nikanor had two wickets (Shek., VI, 3 and Mid., II, 6). It alone of all the gates of the Temple had a Mezuzah affixed to it. (B. Yoma, 11a, top).

It is clear from all this that these traditions confuse to quite a considerable extent the various eastern gates of the Temple (cf. below, note 45), and that they sometimes seem to have in mind the outermost eastern gate, and at other times the Nikanor Gate, directly opposite it, which led from the Court of Women into the Court of the Israelites (Mid., I, 4; cf. also Hochman, *Jerusalem Temple Festivities*, 95f.), and at still other times the so-called Great Gate, the innermost eastern gate, which led directly into the Temple itself. This confusion is, however, of little significance, since, as we shall see, all these eastern gates had very much in common with regard to location, structure, and ritual and traditional significance.

Upon the outer eastern gate of the Temple, we are told (Mid., I, 3) שושן הבירה was engraved. Just what this may have been is not certain. It is usually translated "Susa, the palace" or "fortress," (cf. Men., 98a). But it is inconceivable that any image or representation of Susa should have been engraved upon this gate of the Temple, for this would have been purposeless and inexplicable. It is difficult not to correlate this tradition with that noted above, of the golden tablet or candelabrum which Queen Helena had made and affixed to one of the eastern gates of the Temple, and to identify this שושן הבירה therewith. Can it be that שושן is a corruption, perhaps purposed in order to avoid the consequent idolatrous implications, of שמש or שמשון, and that after

We must also content ourselves with the mere statement that the Mishna,[45] Josephus, and apparently also Ezekiel are in prac-

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the corruption had become fixed and traditional, הבירה was added, quite naturally, in accordance with the common Biblical expression שושן הבירה? If so, then we may infer further that the golden *nebrašta* or candelabrum of the one tradition represents likewise a purposed substitution for שמש or שמשון, an image of the rising sun, of which the tradition in its original form may have told.

Probably with this tradition we should also correlate the fact recorded by Josephus (*Antiquities*, XVII, 6, 2; *Wars*. I, 33, 2) that Herod erected a golden eagle over the Great Gate of the Temple, i. e. the innermost eastern gate, and that the idolatrous implication of this was so offensive to the religious leaders of the time that it became grounds for an uprising against Herod. There is good reason for believing that in Semitic mythology the eagle was intimately associated with the sun. On the other hand, it is likewise difficult not to correlate the tradition of the golden tablet of Queen Helena upon the eastern gate of the Temple with the early Christian tradition noted above, of the golden plates upon the eastern Temple gate, upon which the names of the righteous were engraved. But certainly the tradition that the Biblical passage, Num. 5, was engraved upon this plate of Queen Helena, is an altogether groundless fancy. All these traditions, however, of a golden object affixed to or suspended above one of the eastern gates of the Temple must likewise be correlated with the name, the Golden Gate, the antiquity of which we have already established.

[45] The Mishna speaks of two more Temple gates which faced the east, the "Gate of the Porch" (שער האולם, Mid. II,3; III,7) and the "Gate of the Sanctuary" (שער ההיכל) or the "Great Gate" (השער הגדל, ibid., IV, 1f.) which led into the Temple proper. This last gate had two wickets, one on the north side and one on the south. The north wicket was apparently kept constantly shut; at least no one entered through it, in fulfillment of the injunction of Ezekiel (44.2).

It is clear that the Mishna speaks of four eastern gates of the Temple, the Shushan Gate in the outer wall, facing the Mount of Olives, the Nikanor Gate between the Court of Women and the Court of the Israelites, the Gate of the Porch, and, innermost of all, the Gate of the Sanctuary. These gates, the Mishnaic account leads us to believe, were all in one line from east to west, but on different levels, rising gradually from the Shushan Gate to the Gate of the Sanctuary. The Gate of the Sanctuary, or the Great Gate, and the Gate of the Porch were the only entrances to those parts of the sacred edifice. And the Nikanor Gate and the Shushan Gate were the most remarkable entrances into their respective portions of the Temple, and it is about them that almost all of the traditions thus far cited center.

Josephus' account of these gates (*Wars*, V, 5, 2ff.) agrees closely with that of the Mishna. He tells that there were ten Temple gates, four on the tical agreement that the four eastern doors of the Temple, leading from without through the Court of Women, the Court of the Israelites, and the Porch into the Temple proper, all stood in

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north, four on the south, and two on the east, which led from the outer court into the Court of the Israelites, to use the Mishnaic term. Nine of these doors were covered with gold and silver. But the tenth, which Josephus calls the Corinthian Gate, and which, he says, faced the east, directly opposite the main gate of the Temple proper, surpassed all the other gates both in size and appearance. For while each of the other gates was 30 x 30 cubits in size, this gate was 50 x 50 cubits. And it was covered not only with plates of silver and gold, much thicker and richer than the other gates, but also with Corinthian brass, which was considered more precious than silver or gold. Undoubtedly this Corinthian Gate of Josephus is the same as the Nikanor Gate of the Mishna. This too, it will be remembered, was overlaid with highly polished brass.

Then Josephus continues (4) and describes the first gate of the Temple proper, which was seventy cubits high and twenty-five cubits broad, but had no doors (so also Mid. II, 3). This was the Gate of the Porch of the Mishna. He says that the reason for this gate having no doors was because "it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that this can not be excluded from any place." "Its front was covered all over with gold, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them: but then as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view . . . But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it; it also had golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height." (Whiston's translation). Obviously the two gates here described are the Mishnaic Gate of the Porch and the Gate of the Sanctuary or the Great Gate. It is noteworthy that these gates too are covered with gold.

Finally Josephus says (6), "Now the outward face of the Temple, in its front, wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes: for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and at the first rising of the sun reflected back a very fiery splendor, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays."

In addition to these three gates Josephus elsewhere (*Antiquities*, XV, 11,5) speaks of another gate, which led from the outer court, to which Gentiles were admitted, to the Court of Women, as follows, "On the east quarter (of the inner enclosure, i. e. the Court of Women), towards the sunrising, there was one large gate, through which such as were pure came in, together with their wives. (Again the tradition which we have already met with in the early a straight line facing due east, with each inner door somewhat higher than its neighbor. These doors were larger than any of the other gates of the Temple and were all covered with gold, or with what was considered even finer, Corinthian bronze. Therefore Josephus calls the inner eastern gate the Corinthian Gate. From all these metal-covered gates the first rays of the rising sun were reflected so dazzlingly that mortal eye could not gaze upon them. This corroborates the Biblical statement that the doors of Solomon's Temple were overlaid with gold.

Christian literature, that only the pure and upright of heart might enter through this eastern gate. The tradition that the pure entered this gate in company with their wives is cited by the mediaeval Jewish traveller, Estori b. Moses ha-Parḥi [1322] in his *Kaftor-Uferaḥ*, VI (ed. Edelmann, 17); (cf. Zunz, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, II, 268f. and Luncz, *Jerusalem*, V [1898], 15, note 1). He says that this tradition is found in Masseket Soferim, 82 [I have, however, not succeeded in locating it there], ascribed to R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanus, who told that when Solomon saw all those who were performing deeds of kindness, he built for Israel two gates [i. e. the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of Repentance], one for married couples and the other for mourners and those under the ban. There the inhabitants of Jerusalem used to gather on the Sabbath and go up to the Temple Mount and sit there between these two gates, in order to perform acts of kindness to each other; therefore these gates came to be called "Gates of Mercy." In his day the Jews used to gather there for prayer and supplication.) Josephus gives no description of this gate, however. But apparently it is not identical with the Shushan Gate of the Mishna, but rather with the Nikanor Gate.

It is noteworthy that in this account of Josephus, while all the Temple gates are overlaid with gold and silver, and these precious metals are used in great profusion throughout the edifice, the entire eastern side of the Temple, which caught the first rays of the rising sun, and especially the gates and doors in this eastern side, far surpassed the rest of the Temple in this particular. This agrees with the statement of IMac. 4.57, that when the Maccabees restored the Temple, after its desecration by the Syrians, they adorned the front, i. e., the eastern side, with golden vines and shields. Evidently this was in accordance with ancient facts and traditions. In particular these golden vines tally well with the golden vine over the Gate of the Sanctuary in Josephus' account. Moreover, the Bible tells that the doors of Solomon's Temple were overlaid with gold (I Ki. 6.32–35; II Chron. 3.7; 4.22), and that Hezekiah cut down the Temple gates which had been overlaid (of course with gold) and gave them to the King of Assyria (II Ki. 18.16). From all these facts it is clear that the name "Golden Gate" rests upon sound, historical tradition, going back to the very foundation of the Temple. This name might be applied appropriately to any of the four eastern gates; nor is it essential that we attempt

In the ritual of the Temple the eastern gate played a striking role.[46] One particular ceremony is of extreme significance.[47]

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to determine which was the original "Golden Gate," for, as we have seen, the traditions about them have been greatly confused and intermingled, and all seem to have played a closely related role in the religious concepts and ritual practices of the Temple.

It is not altogether clear whether Ezekiel (40f.) has in mind three or four eastern gates, all, of course, on a line with each other, leading from east to west, in his plan of the rebuilt Temple. Nor is this material. In all likelihood the prophet has followed the pattern of the original, pre-exilic Temple in his general plan. We may therefore infer that from the moment of its erection by Solomon the Temple was provided with three or four doors or gates on the eastern side, each on a line within the other, and so arranged and covered with gold as to reflect the first rays of the rising sun, especially upon Yom Kippur, or rather upon Rosh Hashana, the New Year's Day, the historical antecedent of Yom Kippur, upon the 10th day of the seventh month. Moreover, as we shall see, the most significant events recorded by Ezekiel in connection with the eastern gate of the Temple, transpired at the outermost eastern gate, in other words, at what would correspond with the present Golden Gate.

[46] On the morning of the day before Yom Kippur the high-priest was required to stand in the eastern gate, and the sacrificial animals were made to pass before him, so that he might become familiar with them and expert in sacrificing them (Yoma, I, 3). Furthermore, while the Temple was still in existence, within its precincts they responded to the various blessings and blowings of the trumpets, "Praised be the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever," whereas outside the sacred precincts they responded simply, "Amen." The eastern gate of the Temple marked the boundary line between the sacred precincts and the territory without (Ta'anit, II, 5; cf. B.Ta'anit, 16b; B. Rosh Hashana, 27a). Rashi (to B. Ta'anit, 15b, top) says that while the Temple was in existence the people used to enter the sacred precincts through the eastern gate during the recital of the benedictions upon sacred occasions when special services were held, because, being otherwise outside the Temple, they would have had to respond "Amen" thereto instead of the fuller, and seemingly more efficacious response. We may perhaps picture the people entering through the eastern gate upon these sacred occasions in solemn festal procession, and compare this custom with the early Christian practice which we have unfolded, of the solemn procession of the pilgrims through this eastern gate upon Palm Sunday and the Festival of the Cross.

Moreover, the substitute high-priest, who burned the red heifer, passed through the eastern gate on his way to the Mount of Olives, where this ceremony was performed (Mid. I, 3). And at the moment of the sprinkling of the blood in this ceremony he had to look toward the (inner) eastern gate of the Temple. Therefore the eastern wall of the Temple was lower than the three other walls, in order that this view might not be obstructed (Mid. II, 4).

[47] Sukkah, V, 4.

Seemingly as the culmination of the ceremony of the *Simḥat Bet Hašo'ebah*, a very important part of the celebration of the Sukkot-festival, two priests, who had been standing with trumpets in their hands, at the inner eastern gate, leading from the outer to the inner court, just before dawn blew their trumpets in the prescribed ritual manner. They descended the steps leading to the outer court, blowing their trumpets at regular intervals, and thus advanced solemnly to the outer eastern gate. Arrived there, they turned their faces westward towards the Temple and their backs upon the eastern gate, and proclaimed, "Our fathers who were in this place had their backs toward the Temple and their faces toward the east and prostrated themselves toward the east, toward the sun; but as for us, our eyes are toward Yah."[48]

Not only does this Mishna passage indicate that the eastern gate of the Temple once played an important role in the celebration of the Sukkot-festival, but also the statements of Esdras 5.47 and Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI, 5,5 that the exiles, returned from Babylon, gathered at the site of the former eastern gate of the Temple[49] for the Sukkot-celebration, and likewise that of Neh. 8.1 that the people gathered to hear the Torah read by Ezra on the first day of the seventh month, just before the beginning of the Sukkot-festival, in the court before the Water Gate. For according to Neh. 3.26 and 12.37, this Water Gate was an eastern gate of the Temple;[50] and since all traditions agree that there was only one gate in the outer eastern wall, this Water Gate must have been identical with the Golden Gate.

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[48] Or perhaps "toward Him", reading לֵיהּ instead of לְיָהּ.

[49] Esdras 5.47 says, "Into the broad place before the first porch which is toward the east." Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI, 5, 5 says, more simply and directly, "To the open part of the Temple, to the gate which looketh eastward." Ezra 3.1 says merely, "The people gathered themselves together as one man to Jerusalem," without, however, further specifying the place of assembly. And since both Esdras and Josephus state this with such explicitness, it follows that the common source of all three writings must likewise have contained this statement, and therefore that the author of Ezra 3.1 must have purposely omitted it, presumably because, as we shall see, to him it conveyed a reminiscence of ancient, non-Yahwistic, idolatrous associations.

In this connection attention may be called to the fact that according to Neh. 3.29; II Chron. 31.14, a special gate-keeper was stationed at the eastern gate of the Temple, i. e., of course, of the second Temple, presumably because of its peculiar importance. It is impossible not to correlate this record with the statement of Tobler that still today the Moslems keep a special watchman stationed on a side tower of the Golden Gate, supposedly to guard against the entrance of the long-awaited enemy through that gate upon some holiday, while they, the Moslems, would be praying within the Mosque of Omar. (Above, p. 2.)

IV

IN THE BIBLE

This Sukkot-ceremony at the eastern gate of the Temple, where the priests turned their backs upon the gate and their faces toward the Temple, coupled with the formula recited by them that at this spot their ancestors turned their backs upon the Temple and their faces toward the east and worshiped the sun, suggests very aptly the non-Yahwistic ceremony in the Temple, described in Ezek. 8.16; "And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house, and, behold, at the door of the Temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the Temple of the Lord and their faces toward the east, and they worshiped the sun toward the east." And then, in the continuation of this vision, in 11.1 ff. as the prophet, by divine command, prophesied against these men, their chief, Pelatya ben Benaya, fell over dead, presumably in this very eastern gate where he had been leading in this false worship. This seems to be the oldest version of the tradition, of which we have found several variant forms, of people falling over dead in this eastern gate.

Unquestionably this ceremony is precisely that referred to in the Mishna.[51] Manifestly it was performed exactly at sunrise. Unquestionably it was not performed upon every day of the year, but only in connection with the celebration of some festival; and certainly that festival was Sukkot. Moreover, if we may surmise, what is altogether probable, that for this ceremony the eastern gate, ordinarily kept closed, had been opened, then on this occasion the first rays of the rising sun would shine straight through it and through all the eastern gates of the Temple, arranged in line, directly into the very heart of the Temple proper. But just this is the ceremony which, the Talmud says,[52] was practiced in the time of the early prophets upon the two annual equinoctial days.[53]

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[50] And therefore not the שער המים, the "Water Gate," of Mid. I,4, in the south wall of the Temple court.

[51] So already Rashi, to Ta'anit, 53b.

We know that the Sukkot-festival was originally an equinoctial festival, as Ex. 23.16 and 34.22 state explicitly, celebrated during the last seven days of the year, and immediately preceding the New Year's Day, the day of the fall equinox, upon the 10th of the seventh month. This festival calendar continued in vogue in ancient Israel until some time after the period of Ezra and Nehemiah.[54] These considerations complete the circle of evidence and establish conclusively that the ceremony of solemnly opening the eastern gate of the Temple at Jerusalem upon the day of the fall equinox in order to greet the first rays of the rising sun, and keeping it open throughout the day, until sunset, when it was solemnly closed again, were an important part of the ancient celebration of the Sukkot-festival and the closely related New Year's Day, even though denounced by Ezekiel as a rite of non-Yahwistic origin and character. And the Mishna shows that this ceremony, in a slightly modified form, continued to play an important role in the folk-celebration of the Sukkot-festival throughout the entire period of the second Temple.

But is there any evidence that the same ceremony of the opening of the eastern gate of the Temple to greet the rising sun was practiced in ancient Israel also on the day of the spring equinox? II Chron. 29.3ff. tells that immediately after Hezekiah's accession to the throne he inaugurated a sweeping religious reformation. "In the first year of his reign, in the first month, he opened the doors of the Lord's house and repaired them. And he brought in the priests and the Levites, and gathered them together into the eastern court, and said unto them: 'Hear me, ye Levites: now sanctify yourselves and sanctify the house of the Lord, the God of your fathers, and carry forth the filthiness out of the holy place. For our fathers have acted treacherously, and done that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, our God, and have forsaken Him, and have turned away their faces from the habitation of the Lord, and set their backs (toward it). Furthermore, they closed the doors of the porch and extinguished the lamps.' "

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[52] Jer. 'Erubin, V, 22c, quoted above, p. 16.

[53] Moreover, we have already inferred (p. 24) that the tradition that the reflection of the first rays of the rising sun from the golden image which Queen Helena had placed above the eastern gate of the Temple marked the proper moment for the recital of the morning *Shema'* (B. Yoma 37b), meant not the recital of the *Shema'* every morning, since for this other and more general provision is made in Ber. I, 2, but only on the morning of Yom Kippur. And with this must be coupled the statement of Yoma, I, 8, that before the crowing of the cock on the morning of Yom Kippur the court of the Temple was filled with Israelites. Manifestly they were waiting for the moment of sunrise, when the first rays of the sun would be reflected from the golden image of Queen Helena, and they might recite the morning *Shema'* and then enter at once upon the complex ceremonies of the great day.

[54] Cf. my "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA*, I, (1924) 13–78.

Seemingly this passage describes in a general way the idolatrous practices and the lack of true Yahwe-worship in the Temple in the days of Ahaz.[55] Here, too, just as in Ezek. 8.16, the people turn their backs to the Temple and their faces from it. The Gate of the Porch, the third of the four gates on the line leading from the outermost eastern gate to the Temple proper, is closed.[56] Presumably therefore, the people who have their backs to the Temple and their faces turned from it, are standing before the closed Gate of the Porch, i. e., in the inner eastern court, in precisely the same place into which Hezekiah gathers the

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[55] Referred to in the closing verses of the preceding chapter.

[56] The fact that the Gate of the Porch here can be closed, indicates that it was not in every respect identical with the Gate of the Porch of the second Temple, at least as it was rebuilt by Herod. For, as we have seen (note 45), both Josephus and the Mishna state very emphatically that this particular gate had no doors, and therefore, of course, could never be closed. In fact Josephus emphasizes the fact that this gate was so built purposely, in order that it might never be closed but always remain open. From this it is clear that in the various processes of repairing and rebuilding the Temple, throughout the long course of its history, certain changes, the details of which, however, lack of evidence does not permit us to follow out, were introduced, more or less consciously and purposely, into the appearance and arrangement of the various Temple gates, even those facing the east. This fact will account well for the confusion which we have already noted (note 45) with regard to the association of the various traditions which we have gathered with the different eastern gates.

Levites for this Temple purification. Apparently, therefore, the situation is the same as that in Ezek. 8.16, and the ceremony is the same as that described there. And here one significant detail is added, viz. that the lamps are extinguished. II Chron. 28.23 tells that these rites were in honor of the gods of Damascus.

Quite obviously a ceremony so elaborate could not have been performed every day. It too must have been a festival ceremony. The passage does not name the festival; but since it represents Hezekiah as assembling the Levites during the first month, the month of the spring equinox and of the Passover festival, these rites had to do presumably with the opening and closing of the eastern gate upon the day of the spring equinox, a part of the celebration of the ancient Maṣṣot- or Passover-festival. In such case it is impossible not to correlate this rite of the extinguishing of the lamps in the Temple as a Passover-rite and the coming of the first rays of the rising sun upon this day with the interesting ceremony of the descent of the sacred fire in the Church of the Sepulchre on the afternoon preceding Easter Sunday and the extinguishing of all the lights in the Church in preparation for that event. But a detailed consideration of this interesting ceremony and determination of its origin, history and significance, manifestly very closely related to the ceremony which we are discussing, lack of time forbids.

One final group of Biblical passages relates significantly to the eastern gate of the Temple. Ezek. 10.19 and 11.1 and 23 tell how the *K*^{e}*bod Yahwe* took its departure from the doomed Temple, going out through the eastern gate. This agrees completely with the rabbinic tradition already noted, that before the final destruction by the Romans the Shekinah departed from the Temple through the eastern gate, which had opened of its own accord and remained open for forty years in anticipation of that dread moment. And when the prophet sees in his later vision the *K*^{e}*bod Yahwe* preparing to return to the purified and rebuilt sanctuary, he is first carried in the vision to the eastern gate; and then the prophet beholds, still in the vision, the *K*^{e}*bod Yahwe* coming from the east, and as it comes the earth is lit up by its radiance.[57] He sees it enter the Temple, just as it had left it, through the eastern gate. And then he hears the divine command that henceforth this gate shall remain closed, and never be reopened, nor shall any one ever enter through it again, because the *K^{e}bod Yahwe* had entered through it. But at the entrance to this closed gate the people shall prostrate themselves in the worship of Yahwe on Sabbaths and new moons. And all this, so the prophet tells, was on the 10th day of the seventh month, the New Year's Day, the day of the fall equinox.[58]

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[57] 43.2; מכבדו. Cf. Charlier, "Ein astronomischer Beitrag zur Exegese

This picture of Ezekiel rounds out our chain of traditions concerning the eastern gate of the Temple and establishes beyond all question the antiquity of the rites centering about this gate in connection with the celebration of the Sukkot-New Year's Day festival, the forerunner, on the one hand, of the Day of Atonement in the late Priestly Code of the Bible, and, on the other hand, of the Festival of the Cross in the Christian Church.

Furthermore, Ezekiel's reason for the permanent sealing of the eastern gate is manifestly only half of the truth. The basic reason must have been to forever put an end to the non-Yahwistic practice of the solemn opening and closing of the gate upon the two annual equinoctial days in order to permit the first rays of the rising sun to shine through into the heart of the Temple; in other words a purpose similar to that which later prompted the Moslems to seal up this same gate, in order to terminate an objectionable, idolatrous rite. But despite Ezekiel's legislation, the old, solar rite, continued to be celebrated in Judaism in a modified form so long as the Temple stood, and in Christianity at least during the existence of the Latin kingdom, if not also, as was probably the case, in the earlier period from Constantine to Omar.

A question of deep significance arises here. What was the *K^{e}bod Yahwe*, of which not only Ezekiel, but also Isaiah, Jeremiah, J2, Deuteronomy, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zechariah, the Priestly Code, I Kings, the Psalms and Chronicles speak frequently and with great vividness, and what was its relation to the first rays of the rising sun upon the two equinoctial days,

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des Alten Testaments," *ZDMG*, 58 (1904), 391 f. For כבוד meaning "radiance" cf. also Is. 4.5; 10.16f; 24.23; Zach. 2.9.

[58] 40.1.

shining in through the eastern gate of the Temple? The solution of the problem of these peculiar rites which we have discussed and of much of the religious practice of ancient Israel and of its Canaanite predecessors, and even of the early Babylonians and other ancient, agricultural, Semitic peoples, is bound up with the answer to this question. Lack of time, however, forbids more than to merely raise the question. The answer must await some other occasion.

Only in conclusion we may recall that both rabbinic and mediaeval Moslem tradition associated the opening and closing of the eastern gate of the Temple with David and the recital by him of Psalm 24. Unquestionably the gates there summoned to lift up their heads, and called explicitly פתחי עולם, the Eternal Gates, are this very eastern gate of the Temple; and the King of Glory who would pass through them is obviously Yahwe Himself in the form of the *K^ebod Yahwe*; and the occasion is the solemn opening of this gate just before dawn on the mornings of the two annual equinoctial days. Therefore LXX preserves the record, missing in MT, that this psalm was for Sunday, unquestionably not only Palm Sunday, as in the Christian rite of the Latin Kingdom, but also the Sunday which marked, in the second calendar of ancient Israel,[59] the beginning of the Sukkot-festival, and also the New Year's Day as well. And again in Ps. 118.19f., the psalm traditionally recited in the Jewish ritual upon the festivals, the שערי צדק, the Gates of Righteousness, the gate of Yahwe through which the righteous enter, are unquestionably, as tradition has held, this eastern gate.[60]

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[59] Cf. my "The Origin of Maṣṣoth and the Maṣṣoth-Festival," *AJT* XXI (1917), 279, and "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA* I (1924), 13–78.

[60] In this connection the statement of de Saulcy (*Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea and in Bible Lands*, English edition, II, 81; German edition, II, 196) is of more than passing interest, that "not far from the Golden Gate, when one turns from the east southward in order to go around the walls of the city, the Mohammedans point out a large stone, which is said to have belonged to Solomon's throne; the Christians in Palestine, however, regard it as a stone out of the ancient wall, and refer to it the words, 'The stone which the builders rejected is become the chief corner-stone' (Ps. 118.21)."

And still today in Judaism, the closing ceremony of the great Day of Atonement is called *N^{e}'ilah*, the "Closing (of the Gate)". Tradition has interpreted this figuratively, usually referring to the gates of heaven or the gates of repentance and forgiveness.[61] But when we remember that upon the 10th of the seventh month ancient Israel celebrated originally, not the Day of Atonement, but the New Year's Day, and that, only after the reorganization of the calendar in the period following Ezra, was the New Year's Day transferred to the 1st of the seventh month, and that only then did the old day come to be celebrated as the Day of Atonement, we can understand that many ceremonies originally peculiar to the New Year's Day naturally continued to be observed as a part of the ritual of the Day of Atonement. Among them was unquestionably this ceremony of the solemn opening of the eastern gate of the Temple just before sunrise, and its equally solemn closing just at sunset, as the great day came to an end. This is undoubtedly the true origin of the term and the ceremony of *N^{e}'ilah*. And undoubtedly too, in the days when the Temple still stood, Ps. 24, with its question, "Who shall ascend upon the mountain of Yahwe?", its description of the "clean of hands and pure of heart," and its impressive summons to the gates to lift up their heads that Yahwe, the King of Glory, might enter, was chanted solemnly as a part of the ritual of the great day, just as it has continued to be down to the present time. But what the actual origin of this psalm and its full import were, constitute another, though a closely related story.

But here we must stop.[62]

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[61] Cf. the interesting discussion recorded in Jer. Ber., IV, 7c, top, between Rab and R. Joḥanan, whether the gates referred to in the N^{e}'ilah ceremony were the gates of heaven, closed at sunset, or the gates of the Temple.

[62] This paper will eventually become the introduction to a large work treating of the solar elements in the concept of Yahwe and in the religion of Israel in the Biblical period, and of solar festivals in Semitic religion in general and in the religion of Israel in particular. This work will, of course, discuss the various questions raised, but left unanswered, in the course of this paper, and many other matters of basic import in the history of Semitic religions. The material for this work has long been well in hand. But the pressure of administrative duties and of other scientific work which at present has precedence, compels the postponement of this task for some time. I hope, however, to be able to present further details of this study in the form of monographs from time to time.

FEAR AND LOVE OF GOD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT[1]

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OLD Testament writers speak frequently of fearing God, less often of loving Him. The former expression is repugnant to modern taste, which regards fear as incompatible with genuine religious sentiment. The new American translation edited by Prof. J. M. P. Smith therefore frequently mitigates the harshness of the expression by substituting *reverence* or *awe* for *fear.* But systematic examination of all the passages in which *fear of God* is mentioned reveals that as a rule the authors referred neither to the crude emotion of terror nor to the more refined sentiment of awe and reverence; nor does *love of God* have quite the connotation we usually attach to the phrase. Modern readers and even scholars have been prone to read into these terms later religious conceptions which were foreign to the minds of the Biblical writers.

The OT is not devoid of subjective religious elements, but ninety per cent of the time it stresses the objective side of religion, as manifested either in moral conduct or in ritual. Fear and love of God refer not so much to an inward emotional state a to some type of overt action. The original subjective significance of the words fear and love may not altogether disappear; but in the vast majority of cases it has sunk far into the background.

Furthermore, the idea of fear or love of God as *motives for righteous conduct,* an idea of which the Rabbis made so much[2] is absent in Biblical literature. In the OT fear and love of the

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[1] This study was undertaken at the suggestion and under the guidance of Pres. Julian Morgenstern, to whom acknowledgement is herewith gratefully made. It should be stated that the main thesis of this article is briefly set forth in Moore's "*Judaism,*" Cambridge, 1927, v. II, p. 96, 98, and also in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* s.v. Fear of God, Adolph Guttmacher. The Bible Dictionaries, and frequently the commentaries have failed to understand the subject correctly.

[2] For instance, Mishnah Sotah V, 5.

Deity are not urged as motives for the good life, but are themselves the good life. They are not means, but ends.

A few striking examples demonstrate beyond doubt that יראת ה' does not connote fear in its primary sense. The Samaritan settlers, ignorant of the Jhwh cult, sent for an Israelitish priest to teach them how to fear Jhwh (II K. 17, especially v. 28)—as if the lions had not already roused their terror. The Psalmist offers to teach his disciples the fear of Jhwh (Ps. 34.12), though instruction in how to be afraid would be superfluous. Ps. 130.4 reads "With Thee is forgiveness that Thou mayest be feared." Montefiore[3] has remarked that fear is not inspired by forgiveness, and that we must therefore understand the word *fear* in a derived sense. Most convincing of all is Ex. 20.20. To Israel, terrified by the theophany at Sinai, Moses says "Fear not; for God is come to prove you, and that His fear be upon you, that ye sin not." Plainly, Moses either contradicted himself within a single sentence, or else used the word *fear* with two widely different connotations.[4]

These instances prove sufficiently, I believe, that in at least some cases, fearing Jhwh does *not* imply being afraid of Him. What the term *does* mean will now be considered. Its significance varies a good deal in different sources, and the several meanings will be classified under various heads, each with a few clear-cut examples. At the end of the article will be found a tolerably complete list of all passages that come within the purview of the present study, grouped according to the classification followed in the body of the essay. It must be understood of course that the categories are not absolutely hard and fast; many instances might well be included under more than one heading.

I

There are a few passages, chiefly of pre-exilic origin, in which the primary sense of being afraid survives. Generally, however, this fear is due to some special circumstance, and is not a normal element in Jhwh-worship.

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[3] *The Bible for Home Reading*, London 1907, v. II, p. 556.

[4] Even if, as is probable, the last part of the verse is by a different author, the fact still remains that the glossator did not feel the glaring contradiction that exists if the second "fear" is to be taken literally.

a) Adam, having disobeyed Jhwh, is afraid of the possible consequences (Gen. 3.10; J2). Jacob discovers that he has been sleeping in a sacred spot and fears that he may have violated the sanctity of the place (ib. 28.17; E). Moses fears to look upon God (Ex. 3.6; E). The people are frightened by a storm indicative of Jhwh's wrath (I Sam. 12.18; Deuteronomic). David is terrified by the disasters caused by the Ark (II Sam. 6.9; I Chr. 13.12; an old document).

In one lone instance, fear of God seems to be a regular and constant element in religious life. Ps. 119.120 reads "My flesh is aquiver from the terror of Thee, and I am afraid because of Thy judgments;" and again in v. 161 "My heart is in terror of Thy word." The Psalmist here almost anticipates the Pauline attitude of dread of the Torah—it seems impossible for him to obey it properly, and he dreads the outcome.

In a number of instances, the epithet נורא, literally "fearful" is applied to God; but the only instance in which the context clearly indicates that the primary sense of fear is to be understood is Ps. 76.8 "Thou, even Thou, art terrible; and who may stand in Thy sight when once Thou art angry?"

b) In a few passages, the prophets make use of the old fear-notion, re-interpreting it somewhat for their purposes. Thus Is. 8.12, 13: "Call not a conspiracy all that this people call a conspiracy, neither fear ye their fear nor account it dreadful. The Lord of Hosts, Him shall ye sanctify, and let Him be your fear and let Him be your dread." Here the prophet satirizes the folly of the people, who are afraid of political conspiracy or military invasion, when they should fear Jhwh's displeasure at their sinfulness. Similarly, Jeremiah adduces the destruction of Israel (3.8) and the power of God in nature (5.22) as reasons why the people of Judah should have feared God's punishment. A somewhat similar thought appears once in a late prophecy, Is. 57.11.

The interpretation given by Isaiah and Jeremiah to the notion of the fear of God may well represent the transition between the old, crude notion of terror and the later conception to be explained in section III, and which is found chiefly in post-exilic literature.

II

There is likewise something of the original fear element remaining when our expression is used with reference to the Gentiles. But more is implied than mere terror. The hope that the Gentiles will fear Jhwh means the hope that they will recognize His divinity, and acquiring a wholesome respect for His power, will change their attitude toward His chosen people. Thus in a post-exilic addition to Jeremiah (10.7) "Who will not fear Thee, King of the nations? for to Thee it is fitting;" likewise in the apocalyptic passage Is. 25.3 "Therefore a mighty people shall honor Thee, a city of dread nations shall fear Thee." The sailors who had beheld Jhwh's power in connection with Jonah "feared Jhwh with a great fear, and sacrificed to Jhwh and made vows" (Jon. 1.16), which does not mean that they were converted to Judaism, but merely that they paid their respects to a plainly powerful Deity. Similarly, Moses says to Pharaoh, "I know that you do not yet fear before Jhwh Elohim" (Ex. 9.30, probably a late gloss)—otherwise you would release Israel.

In a number of cases, the adjective נורא applied to Jhwh means "deserving of respect on the part of the Gentiles." For instance in Ps. 47.3 "For Jhwh is most high, fearful, a great King over all the earth" and Mal. 1.14 "I am a great King, saith the Lord of Hosts, and My name is feared among the Gentiles" (cf. v. 11). The meaning of the expression is further clarified by the statement (Ps. 66.5) that Jhwh is נורא עלילה, "fearful in His doing toward the children of men." By such fearful acts are usually meant incidents like the plagues and the destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea (cf. e. g., II Sam. 7.23; Ps. 106.22).[5] In short, we see the view expressed that Jhwh visits dire punishment on those who fall foul of His people, and that the Gentiles should therefore respect His power. The hope that this will come to pass appears often in the

[5] The expression נורא תהלות Ex. 15.11, is despite its familiarity, extremely obscure. The best suggestion is that of Ehrlich, *Randglossen* ad loc., to read נורא עלילות with the same meaning as in Ps. 66.5.

Psalms; for instance "Let all the earth fear Jhwh; let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of Him," (Ps. 33.8).

In the prayer ascribed to Solomon at the dedication of the Temple, a more daring hope is expressed. In this late Deuteronomic source, Solomon prays that the Gentiles may learn to fear Jhwh *as does Israel* (I K. 8.43; II Chr. 6.33). Now as we shall see, Israel's fear of Jhwh means simply "worship;" and in this passage the hope is definitely voiced that the nations shall be converted to the religion of Jhwh. Elsewhere no more is expected than that the Gentiles shall respect Jhwh and cease to persecute His people.

In three late Psalms (115.11,13; 118.4, 135.20) "they that fear Jhwh" are mentioned as a separate group distinct from the houses of Aaron, Levi, and Israel. It is generally agreed by scholars that the reference here is to Jhwh-devotees of non-Jewish birth. But whether the Psalmist means actual converts who in accordance with Solomon's prayer have learned to fear Jhwh as does His people Israel, or whether he means those aliens who recognize and respect Jhwh after the more moderate hope of the other Biblical writers, cannot well be determined. Possibly, as Dr. Morgenstern has suggested, the reference may be not to an actually existing class, but to a hoped-for and purely hypothetical group of converts.

It should be noted that all passages which come under this category are of post-exilic origin.

III

In every other instance, where the fear of Jhwh or the fear of God is mentioned, and the context gives us any help in determining the meaning of the phrase, the reference is always to one aspect or another of the worship of Jhwh. In many cases the expression may be literally translated "worship of Jhwh" or even "religion." The exact connotation of the phrase varies with the varying conceptions of the nature of the Jhwh-religion. From the more explicit examples, it is usually possible to determine the meaning of the term in documents of the same period when the context gives no help.

a) Sometimes, to fear Jhwh means simply to observe the Jhwh-cult. Thus Is. 29.13 "Their fear of Me is a human commandment, learned by rote," where *fear* refers plainly to the ceremonial, observed in a lifeless and mechanical fashion. Similarly, in the example cited above from II K. 17, the Israelite priest comes to teach the Samaritan settlers "how to fear Jhwh," that is, the proper modes of ritual worship.

b) In a broader and more general sense, the phrase means to be a worshipper of Jhwh and to refrain from worshipping other gods. Instances are numerous; from among them we may cite Joshua's charge (Jos. 24.14) "Now fear Jhwh and serve Him in perfection and truth; and put away the gods which your fathers have made;" Jonah's confession of faith (Jon. 1.9) "I am a devotee of Jhwh, the God of heaven and earth;" and Nehemiah's characterization of Israel as "Thy servants, who *delight* to fear Thy name" (Neh. 1.11). Note also Ps. 130.4,[6] which means: because Thou art a forgiving God, men are able to worship Thee. Fear in the sense of worship is also used in regard to the gods of the Amorite in Jud. 6.10.

"Those who fear Jhwh" are simply His worshippers (except in the three instances mentioned under II, where the phrase has a special significance); in different Psalms, the terms יראי ה' and יראי שם ה' occur in parallelism with such expressions as "seed of Jacob and Israel" (Ps. 22.24), "they that trust in Thee" (ib. 31.20), "they who wait for His mercy" (ib. 33.18; 147.11). Some instances of the epithet נורא should be classified under this head; it may be rendered "deserving of worship," "adorable" (in the technical sense). Thus for instance, Deut. 28.58, "To worship this honorable and adorable Name, even the Lord thy God." Gradually נורא becomes a conventional attribute, joined with *great* and *mighty*, as in the liturgy: Dan. 9.4; Neh. 1.5.

c) Ps. 5.8, "I prostrate myself before Thy sanctuary in the fear of Thee" refers to worship in the strictly devotional sense—the only clear-cut instance I have found of this type.

d) Worship of Jhwh implies the fulfillment of His commands. Numerous instances of this conception appear in the hortatory sections of Deuteronomy, where—it should be emphasized—fear of Jhwh is not the *motive* for keeping the laws, but *is itself* the keeping of the laws. Thus (Deut. 6.2) "that thou mightest fear Jhwh thy God, to keep all His statutes and His commandments" and (ib. 8.6) "thou shalt observe the commandments of Jhwh thy God, to walk in His ways and to fear Him." By obeying the command to sacrifice his son, Abraham proves himself "God-fearing" (Gen. 22.12). In Ps. 19.10, the fear of Jhwh is parallel to the Torah of Jhwh, His testimonies, precepts, and commandments—a very convincing instance. Note further Ps. 128.1 "Happy is everyone that feareth Jhwh, that walketh in His ways."

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[6] Cp. n. 3 above.

e) But, since the religion of Jhwh and His laws were from the prophetic period onward so deeply impregnated with the spirit of morality, it follows that the fear of Jhwh includes ethical conduct. In a few cases, this conception does not differ from the category last mentioned—where the dominant note is obedience to Jhwh's law—save that the specifically moral content of the law is stressed. Thus in Jer. 5.24–28, Jeremiah catalogues the social crimes which indicate that the people do not fear Jhwh; Malachi joins the words (Mal. 3.5) "they did not fear Me" to a list of sins, all violations of moral law with the exception of witchcraft.

In many passages, however, the religious connotation seems to be completely attenuated, and fear of God is identified with morality. So predominantly in the E-document.—Abraham justifies his course in having Sarah pose as his sister by saying "I thought: verily there is no fear of God in this place and they will kill me for the sake of my wife" (Gen. 20.11)—note that Abraham is speaking of idolaters. Similarly, Joseph—whom his brothers suppose to be a heathen—is lenient towards them because he "fears God" (ib. 42.18). The "fearers of God" are defined (Ex. 18.21) as "men of merit . . . men of truth, hating gain."

The Holiness code concludes a number of injunctions with the words "thou shalt fear thy God." It is hardly an accident that these laws are without exception of humanitarian significance—against cursing the deaf or impeding the blind (Lev.

19.14), oppression (ib. 25.17), usury (ib. v. 36), maltreatment of slaves (ib. v. 43), and the command to honor the aged (ib. 19.32). Were these the only instances of the expression "thou shalt fear thy God," we might interpret it as stating the motive for kindly acts; but the abundance of other evidence cited shows that the phrase means rather "thou shalt behave decently."

Particularly instructive is Deut. 25.18, where the account of Amalek's brutality is followed by the words "he feared not God." Referring to Israel, the Deuteronomist always speaks of fearing Jhwh, and with the special significance of keeping His laws.[7]

The classic instance of this type is to be found in Ps. 34.12 ff. "Come ye children, hearken unto Me; I will teach ye the fear of Jhwh . . . Keep thy tongue from evil and thy lips from speaking guile; depart from evil and do good, seek peace and pursue it." Here is a definition of the "fear of God"—in exclusively ethical terms.

f) In the Wisdom Literature, where a considerable intellectual element enters into the conception of virtue, this ethical interpretation of the "fear of God" is also somewhat intellectualized. Thus Job. 28.28, "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding;" Prov. 1.7, "The fear of Jhwh is the beginning of knowledge." The "woman who feareth Jhwh" (ib. 31.30) is outstanding in homely household virtues and in prudence; no word is said of her piety.

In the book of Proverbs there are also several interesting passages, in which the fear of God is praised, and its rewards enumerated. Thus (Prov. 10.27) "the fear of Jhwh lengthens life;" (ib. 22.4) "the reward of humility and the fear of God is riches, honor, and life."

From the passages cited under the last two headings, it can be seen plainly that the expression "fear of God" tends to lose its religious significance altogether. This is an exact parallel to the English word "God-fearing," which in common usage signifies simply upright, honest, and decent.

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[7] One might *almost*, on the basis of E and D, distinguish between fear of Jhwh, which means religion and applies to Israel, and fear of God, meaning morality and applying to all men. But such a distinction is not carried out consistently.

g) Finally, the fear of God may be demonstrated through regard for His messengers. Thus Deutero-Isaiah: "Who among you feareth Jhwh, hearkening to the voice of His servant?" (Is. 50.10). The book of Jeremiah reports (Jer. 26.19) that when Micah prophesied the destruction of the Temple, Hezekiah and the people did not kill him, but feared Jhwh and entreated His favor. Likewise, when Haggai rebuked his contemporaries, Zerubbabel and the people feared the Lord and obeyed His prophet (Hag. 1.12).

It may not be amiss to repeat that the classification given above is not to be taken too strictly. Many passages might properly be listed under more than one heading. But this much holds good of all instances included in section III—they refer not to being afraid of Jhwh, but to worshipping Him, the exact significance depending on the varying religious conceptions of the different writers.

IV

Thus far "fear" has always represented some form or derivative of the root ירא. Hebrew has, however, a number of other roots that express the idea of fear: פחד, חול, גור, חתת, אים, בעת. These words, which occur chiefly in poetry, almost invariably have the primary connotation of terror. The only exceptions occur when these words are used in parallelism with ירא for the sake of variety, in which case the meaning of the variant may be learned from the meaning of ירא in the context.

Thus in Ps. 22.24 "Ye that fear the Lord, praise Him; all ye seed of Jacob, glorify Him, and stand in awe of Him (גורו ממנו) all the seed of Israel," גורו is plainly used in the sense of worship, as described under III (b). In Ps. 33.8, on the other hand, the same verb appears in a different connection referring to the fear of Jhwh by the Gentiles as discussed in section II.

The root חול and its derivatives occur chiefly in poetic passages, referring often to natural convulsions, as for instance in Ez. 30.16, Hab. 3.10, Ps. 114.7. In a number of cases it is used as the equivalent of ירא, referring to the fear of Jhwh by the Gentiles, for example Joel 2.6, Ps. 96.9. Only once is the verb used with reference to Israel (in parallelism with ירא),

namely in Jer. 5.22, a passage already treated above in section I (b).

The other roots are used only to denote fear due to some special cause, some peculiarly awful manifestation of Jhwh's power. Thus, the different forms of בעת are frequently used in Job (e. g., Job 6.4) to describe the torments of Job's disease. One root, however, deserves a slightly more extended treatment, namely פחד.

In one instance the phrase פחד אלהים occurs (Ps. 36.2); the context is not altogether clear, but it seems almost indubitable that the phrase is equivalent to יראת אלהים in the ethical sense as in III (e) Elsewhere the expression is always פחד ה', with the literal meaning of dread, terror. In I Sam. 11.7, the *Paḥad Jhwh* falls upon Israel and they obey Saul's summons. In II Chr. 14.13 and 17.10, the terror falls upon Gentiles; in the one case they are defeatd by Israel, in the other they dare not attack Israel. In a similar sense we are to understand חתת אלהים in Gen. 35.5. In Isaiah 2.10, פחד ה' refers to the terrors of the imminent judgment, and is in parallelism with הדר גאונו. We see thus that the dread of Jhwh may affect either Israelites or heathen. The root is further used regarding the Gentiles in Ex. 15.16, Is. 19.16, 17; of Jews in Ps. 119.120, 161, concerning which see above I (a). In Job 13.11, 23.15 the root is used with reference to the fear of Jhwh's special displeasure.

In Hosea 3.5, ופחדו is used in a special significance as shown by the fact that it is followed by אל instead of מפני. The expression means either "They shall seek trembling after Jhwh and His beneficence" or "They shall yearn after," etc. Similarly, Mic. 7.17.

Some special, perhaps mythological significance seems to attach to the term פחד ה'. In Gen. 31.42, 53, an old document, Jhwh is called the *Paḥad* of Isaac. We have noted the use of our word in the Day of Jhwh oracle (Is. 2) which contains several apparently mythological elements, used figuratively for poetic effect. Note also Job 25.2 "Rulership and terror are with Him; He establishes peace in His heights." Perhaps פחד ה' refers to the manifestation of Jhwh's power in nature. In any event it has no similarity to יראת ה'.

V

References to the love of Jhwh—that is love toward Jhwh—are comparatively few, occurring in late passages only.[8] (As a matter of fact, we have seen that scarcely any of the fear of Jhwh passages are early.) Perhaps the word *love* was used, especially in some late additions to Deuteronomy, by religious purists, who felt the same distaste for the term *fear of Jhwh* that moderns have experienced. At any rate there is no recognizable difference in the meaning of the phrases *fear of Jhwh* and *love of Jhwh* when they occur in the same documents. In Deut. 10.12 we are admonished in the same breath to fear and to love Jhwh. The context in this and numerous other passages (e. g., Deut. 11.1, 30.16; Is. 56.6) shows plainly what loving Jhwh means: to worship Him faithfully and to obey His laws. "Those who love Jhwh and keep His commandments" is a combination occurring in the Decalog (Ex. 20.6) and recurring frequently. God sends the idolatrous tempter to see if we love Him (Deut. 13.4). In I K. 11.2 (Deuteronomic) the expression דבק לאהבה is used in connection with Solomon's heathen backsliding.

That *love of Jhwh* does not refer to a spontaneous emotional state is indicated by the fact that we are exhorted to love Him (Ps. 31.24) and even *warned* to do so: "Take good heed unto yourselves, that ye love the Lord your God" (Jos. 23.11). Something of the subjective side *is* taken into account, apparently, in Deut. 30.6, "The Lord thy God shall circumcise thy heart and the heart of thy seed to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul," etc. To this instance we may add Ps. 18.2, where, however, the verb is not אהב, but the unusual רחם.

Elsewhere, the lovers of Jhwh (or His name) are simply devotees of His, equivalent to those who fear Jhwh, His holy ones, His pious ones, and so forth. In Ps. 5.12, the lovers of Jhwh are in parallelism with "them that trust in Him;" in Ps. 69.37 with "seed of His servants;" in Ps. 145.20, those who love Jhwh are contrasted with the wicked. Abraham is called the friend (אוהב) of Jhwh in Is. 41.8; II Chr. 20.7.

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[8] The only apparent exception, Ju. 5.31a, is on independent grounds regarded by scholars as a late euphemistic appendix to the Song of Deborah.

The present study has established:

(1) That the contrast and antithesis between the expressions *fear* and *love of God* felt by later ages was not present in the minds of the Biblical authors. On the contrary, the two terms are practically synonymous and interchangeable.

(2) Both these phrases have the general meaning of *religion*. In fact, there is no abstract term in Old Testament Hebrew for religion; other expressions referring to religion in its various aspects are *knowledge of Jhwh* (דעת ה') and *service* (עבודה). The investigation of these terms is outside the scope of this paper.

(3) By far the most common of these Biblical terms for religion is fear of Jhwh, which is used in a large number of special meanings. The exact sense of the phrase varies with the religious views of the different authors, according as they stressed the ritual, devotional, or moral aspects of religion. The different connotations are not always sharply distinguished. This is to be expected, since the Biblical writers were not systematic theologians and made no attempt at rigid definition of terms. In a large preponderance of cases, however, it can be clearly seen that fear and love of Jhwh refer to a kind of conduct or action rather than to a mental or emotional state.

(4) The connotation of actual fear is absent from most of the instances where fear of God is mentioned. Often it is self-evident that this significance was not even present subconsciously. When the notion of terror is to be expressed, the Biblical authors frequently substitute some other and stronger word (e. g. פחד) for the more familiar ירא. Yet even where these more vigorous expressions are introduced, the feeling of terror is not always involved, since verbs like גור and חול are sometimes used simply as literary variants for ירא.

It follows that the opinion that primitive fear plays an overshadowing role in Old Testament theology must be considerably revised. While our study reveals that this emotion was not altogether absent, it was present to a much more limited extent than has often been supposed. No conclusion is to be drawn from the circumstance that fear of God is a more frequently chosen expression than love of God.

It likewise follows that it is misleading to translate יראת ה' by *awe* or *reverence*, since these words have a limited and specific meaning in English. In many cases *religion* is a far more accurate rendering. A literal translation is, however, entirely permissable, in view of the English idioms *God-fearing* and *sin-fearing*, where likewise there is no connotation of being afraid.

In conclusion a word may be said as to the historical development of the concept. It seems likely that in early times the actual fear of the Deity must have been present to a considerable degree; this supposition is strengthened by the fact that most passages in which an element of terror is noticeable are of comparatively early origin. But even in these cases, the terror is generally due to some unusual circumstance and is not felt to be the normal thing. The total of all instances in pre-exilic literature where the idea occurs is very small; but in the post-exilic period, when the advanced prophetic teachings were becoming more and more widespread, the term occurs repeatedly.

It is not possible to trace a gradual attenuation of the terror element nor a single line of development along which our idea evolved during the centuries. Thus we have found an expression of real fear in the late post-exilic Psalm 119. It is instructive to compare two unquestionably genuine utterances of the first Isaiah, namely 8.12 f. and 29.13. In the first of these passages, a considerable tincture of the fear element is observable; in the second, it is entirely lacking. Likewise the varied connotations of our phrase discussed above in sections II and III appear in writings of approximately the same date. The term was used loosely, different connotations appearing almost side by side. In certain documents there is, however, a measure of consistency. In Deuteronomic writings, the expression refers regularly to observance of the Torah; in the Elohist and Holiness codes to moral conduct.

Finally, the fragmentary contribution to the history of OT religion here presented can undoubtedly be supplemented and extended by similar studies of other Biblical concepts.

APPENDIX

The following list contains practically all the passages that bear on the subject of this article, classified according to the method followed in the body of the essay. All words derived from the same root are classified together without distinction as to grammatical form.

ירא

- I a) Gen. 3.10; 28.17. Ex. 3.6. I Sam. 12.18. II Sam. 6.9. Ps. 76.8; 119.120. Job 9.35; 37.22, 24. I Chr. 13.12.
  - b) Is. 8.12, 13; 57.11. Jer. 3.8; 5.22, 24.
- II Ex. 9.20, 30; 15.11. Deut. 4.34; 10.21; 26.8. II Sam. 7.23. I K. 8.43. Is. 25.3; 59.19; 64.2. Jer. 10.7; 32.21. Zeph. 2.11. Mal. 1.14. Ps. 2.11; 9.21; 33.8; 47.3; 65.6; 66.3, 5; 67.8; 76.12, 13; 99.3; 102.16; 106.22; 115.11, 13; 118.4; 135.20; 145.6. I Chr. 16.25; 17.21. II Chr. 6.33.
- III a) Josh. 22.25. II K. 17.7, 25, 28, 32–39, 41. Is. 29.13.
  - b) Ex. 34.10. Deut. 7.21; 10.17; 28.58. Josh. 24.14. Ju. 6.10. I K. 8.40; 18.3, 12. II K. 4.1. Is. 63.17. Jer. 32.39, 40. Jon. 1.9. Mal. 2.5; 3.16, 20. Ps. 22.24, 26; 25.12, 14; 31.20; 33.18; 60.6; 61.6; 85.10; 89.8; 103.11, 13, 17; 111.9; 130.4; 145.19; 147.11. Dan. 9.4. Neh. 1.5, 11; 4.8; 9.32. II Chr. 6.31.
  - c) Ps. 5.8.
  - d) Gen. 22.12. Deut. 4.10; 5.26; 6.2, 13, 24; 8.6; 10.12, 20; 14.23; 17.19; 28.58; 31.12, 13. I Sam. 12.14, 24. Jer. 44.10. Mal. 1.6. Ps. 19.10; 86.11; 112.1; 119.63, 74, 79.
  - e) Gen. 20.11; 42.18. Ex. 1.17, 21; 18.21; 20.20. Lev. 19.14, 32; 25.17, 36, 43. Deut. 25.18. Mal. 3.5. Ps. 15.4; 34.8, 10, 12–15; 55.20; 128.1. Prov. 8.13; 14.2; 16.6; 24.21. Job 1.1, 8, 9; 2.3; 4.6; 6.14; 15.4; 22.4; 28.28. Eccl. 5.6; 8.12, 13; 12.13. Neh. 5.9, 15; 7.12. II Chr. 19.9.
  - f) Is. 11.2. Prov. 1.7, 29; 2.5; 3.7; 10.27; 14.16, 26, 27; 15.16, 33; 19.23; 22.4; 23.17; 31.30. Job. 28.28.
  - g) Is. 50.10. Jer. 26.19. Hag. 1.12.

גור

Ps. 22.24; 33.8.

חול

Ex. 15.4. Jer. 5.22; 51.29. Ez. 30.16. Joel 2.6. Hab. 3.10. Ps. 29.8; 77.17; 96.9; 97.4; 114.7. I Chr. 16.30.

בעת

Ps. 88.17. Job 6.4; 7.14; 9.34; 13.11, 21.

אים

Gen. 15.12. Ex. 15.16; 23.27. Job 9.34; 13.21.

חתת

Gen. 35.5. Mal. 2.5.

פחד

Gen. 31.42, 53. Ex. 15.16. I Sam. 11.7. Is. 2.10, 19, 21; 19.16, 17. Hos. 3.5. Mic. 7.17. Ps. 36.2; 119.120, 161. Job. 13.11; 23.15; 25.2. II Chr. 14.13; 17.10.

אהב

Ex. 20.6. Deut. 5.10; 6.5; 7.9; 10.12; 11.1, 13, 22; 13.4; 19.9; 30.6, 16, 20. Josh. 22.5; 23.11. Ju. 5.31. I K. 3.3; 11.2. Is. 41.8; 56.6. Dan. 9.4. Neh. 1.5. II Chr. 20.7.

רחם

Ps. 18.2.

In the following instances the text is either obscure, or can be improved by some slight emendation. See the notes in the margin of the Kittel Bible: Josh. 4.24; Is. 11.3; 33.6. Hab. 3.2. Ps. 90.11; 97.10; 119.38.

RABBINIC PARALLELS IN EARLY CHURCH ORDERS

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AS long ago as 1910 Schwartz in hise ssay Über die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen (in *Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*), advanced some contentions regarding the so-called "Egyptian Church Order" which were independently confirmed by Dom Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents* (in *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge, VIII:4) six years later. We have every assurance that in this document we possess the text of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, written in the early decades of the 3rd century. The circumstances of its writing and the *tendenz* of the writer give us good grounds for maintaining that the *A. T.* represents the usage of the Roman Church of the later 2nd century. So important a discovery has made necessary a radically new departure in the study of the early Christian liturgy, of which recent development we possess Lietzmann's fine monograph, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Bonn, 1926) and Völker's *Mysterium und Agape* (Gotha, 1927). Yungklaus has written on Die Gemeinde Hippolyts (*T. u. U.*, 46, 2, Leipzig, 1928), and other significant studies will undoubtedly appear in the near future. With two 2nd century Church Orders—the *Didache* and the *A. T.* of Hippolytus—we have Christian texts roughly contemporaneous with the Tannaitic tradition of Rabbinic Judaism, as redacted in the Mishna, Tosefta, and the baraitot.

We are then in a position to examine afresh the question of the relationship maintaining between the two faiths, on the basis of material which is of the same date. Despite the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity, the two religions continued to influence each other in many ways. This interaction was not from one side alone: when Judaism waived its claim to the LXX and practically abandoned it to the Church; when it surrendered the ancient recitation of the Ten Commandments in the Synagogue service "because of the Minim" (cf. Ber. 12a; P. 1.8 (3c); Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*,[2] Frankfurt a.M., 1924, p. 242); when the method of ordination by *semika* was changed to that by nomination; when Jewish apologetic was concerned to defend its claim to be the true "Israel of God" against Christian polemic (cf. Bonwetsch, Der Schriftbeweis für die Kirche als das wahre Israel, in *Theologische Studien Theodor Zahn . . . dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 1–22; Marmorstein, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* I, Pressburg, 1910, pp. 1–26, where as *e. g.*, pp. 14, 7 n. 2, relevant references are given), we have definite tokens of the reaction upon Judaism of Christianity. We are now to examine some instances of influence of Judaism upon the Church as shown in Early Church Orders.

Our first instance will deal with certain parallels between the rites and rubrics of Jewish proselyte and Christian baptism. For the former we have two descriptions, in a baraitha in Yeb. 47, and in the small tractate Gerim I.1–5; for the latter, the accounts in *Didache* VII and in Hippolytus' *A. T.* (The latter is most conveniently accessible in Connolly, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–185, a conflated text based upon Hauler, *Didascaliae apostolorum fragmenta veronensia latina . . .* , Leipzig, 1900, pp. 110–112, and supplemented by Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles, or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London, 1904, translation, pp. 148–153.) *Did.* VII begins: "Having first rehearsed all these things," referring to the catechumenal instructions represented by I–VI, which is a revision in a Christian direction of a Jewish manual for the instruction of proselytes (Cf. Knopf's edition, Tübingen, 1920, p. 2 *et ad loc.*) It continues: "Baptize in living water. If, however, thou hast not living water, baptize in other water. If thou canst not in cold, then in warm." The same specification of "living" or running water appears in Justin Martyr, I Apol. 61. It was the normal procedure in Judaism, in accordance with Lev. 14.5, 50; Num. 19.17, and underlies the controversy between Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai in Sab. 15a (the date of which is discussed by Lerner in *MWJ* 1885, p. 113; cf. also Katzenelson, in *MGWJ* 1900 (44.10) pp. 416–447, and Ber. 22a; Ḥag. 11a; Yoma 31a; Sifra Mes. 6.3 (Weiss ed. Vienna, 1862, 77b), 'Emor

4.7 (96b), etc.). The Christian rubric has in view the existence of bath-houses where, in the event described, baptisms could be administered. There is a Rabbinic provision in the case of an aged and weak High Priest that warm be mixed with the cold water of his *tebilah* to take off the chill (cf. Yoma III.5; P. Ber. III.4 (6c); Ber. 22a), where allowance is made for other than living water.

We shall now turn to the evidence offered by the *Apostolic Tradition.* The Latin of the Hippolytan rite is at this point defective, but we possess the Ethiopic and Coptic: "At the time of the cock-crow they shall first pray over the water, and it shall be either such as flows into the tank (Coptic κολυμβήθρα), or is caused to flow down upon it" (so Coptic and Arabic). Of the Canons of Hippolytus No. XIX (ed. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900) reads: "At cock-crow let them cause them to go to the water of a *clean running stream*," which probably represents an original "running water." The *Testamentum D. N. J. C.* (ed. Rahmani, 1899, II.8) stipulates that "the water be pure and flowing." The convergence of the whole *corpus* of allied Hippolytan readings postulates some provision requiring "living" water, and the Coptic κολυμβήθρα is strikingly like the *bet ha-tebilah* of Gerim 1.3. The Ethiopic adds: "this shall maintain unless there be a scarcity of water, in which case they shall carry water . . . having drawn it from a well" (Horner, op. cit., p. 152).

There follows a very significant rubric in the non-Latin versions of the *A. T.*: "All the women shall loose their hair, and they shall be forbidden to wear their ornaments and their gold; and none shall go down having anything alien with them into the water" (Horner, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 (152–153) Ethiopic; 100–101 (253) Arabic; 316 Sahidic). In Haneberg, *Canones S. Hippolyti* (1870) Canon XIX.7 reads: Solvant crinium nodos, ne cum illis descendat in aquam regenerationis quidquam peregrinum de spiritibus peregrinis (pp. 39, 75). He points out (ibid. p. 112) that this reason is not given by the Coptic and Syriac. The related passage in the latter version (ed. Rahmani, p. 126) has: "The Bishop is to see to it that no man wears a ring nor a woman a golden ornament, since it is not fitting to have anything alien with them in the water." Rogers (in *JTS* XIII, p. 414) does not seem to have found the clue to this rubric, which is simply the provision, familiar to the Rabbis, that nothing shall intervene to prevent the water touching every part of the body. The baraitha in B. K. 82a, quoting Lev. 14.9 ("wash his flesh in water") interprets the injunction to mean "in such a way that no separating element (*ḥoṣeṣ*) intervene between the water and the body." Further provisions against anything that may serve as a "separating element" are to be found in Sabb. VI.1: "a woman may not take her *tebilah* until she have loosed the band about her head;" Miḳ. IX.1: "These things act as a 'separation,'—woolen and linen fillets with which women are wont to plait their hair. But R. Judah said that such do not act as a separation, as the water can reach the person through them." Cf. also Niddah 66.

But it is in the rite as a whole and in the administration of the act of Baptism that the most striking likeness to Jewish procedure appears. It may suffice to mention two facts regarding the *A. T.* rite: (1) there is no baptismal "formula" in the later sense of the word; (2) there is no "administrator" or officiant in the proper meaning of the term, for the rite is practically self-administered. (1) In the place of the use of a proper "formula" of Baptism, the Latin (Hauler, op. cit., pp. 110–111; cf. Horner, p. 153) gives us the *traditio* and *redditio symboli*, which are strikingly like the summary of obligations and duties, and the formal address of congratulation in Jewish proselyte baptism given in Yeb. 47 and Gerim I.1–4. (2) Easton has drawn attention to the Old Latin readings in the N. T. which imply self-baptism (*AJT*, XXIV, Oct. 1920, pp. 513–518): in Lk. 3.12; 11.38; 12.50, and the use of the middle of βαπτίζειν in Acts 22.16 and I Cor. 10.2. The Syriac, like the Hebrew, term,—*'amad* and *tabal*—is middle, while the Greek verb, βαπτίζειν, is transitive. This ancient viewpoint is still fundamental to the rite of Hippolytus, for in the administration of Baptism the priest's part is confined to having his hand on the head of the baptizand.

We must pass from this brief consideration of Baptism to other usages represented in the Church Orders, chiefly those concerned with the *Agape* or Agape-Eucharist. Some of these affiances I have discussed elsewhere (*Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments*, London, S. P. C. K., 1928, and Macmillan, N. Y.). The ancestral type of the Christian Agape or Agape-Eucharist is most certainly the *kiddush* as it was observed by a *ḥaburah*. The evidence of the N. T.,—where there is linguistic assimilation to the current Rabbinic language, as well as a controlling *tendenz* dictated by current Christian liturgical procedure,—is especially interesting in the narratives of the miraculous feedings. Strack-Billerbeck have furnished, for example, to Mark 5.39ff. and 8.6ff., conclusive parallels from Rabbinic sources. A comparison of the accounts of the Institution of the Eucharist in St. Luke (cf. also his characteristic "breaking of the bread" in 24.30, 35, and Acts 2.42, 46; 20.7, 11; 27.35, etc.) with the Matthaean-Markan and the Pauline traditions suggest the early confusion between what later came to be sharply distinguished as the Agape and the Eucharist respectively. Discussion of this very important subject had not materially advanced since Keating's essay, *The Agape and the Eucharist in the Early Church* (1901), despite Leclercq's learned monograph on the evidence of the Didache (*Monumenta Historiae Liturgiae Ecclesiae Antiquae*). until the publication of Lietzmann's work, followed by Völker's *Mysterium und Agape.*

When we turn to Did. IX-X and XIV to see what is the yield of that primitive document, our attention should first be directed to the preceding section (VIII.1) where the direction is given: "Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast on Mondays and Thursdays, but do you fast on Wednesdays and Fridays." There is more here than the simple prohibition to fast on the same days as did the devout Jews (cf. Meg. Taan. XII; Taan. 12a; Elbogen, *Geschichte*,[2] pp. 76–77). The exigencies of anti-Jewish controversy still dictate the terms and condition the course of Christian liturgical procedure and customs. Sections IX and X contain each two blessings and one petition, each several one terminating in its proper doxology. (There is a dislocated fragment in X.4, which if transposed to introduce X.3 will make the three sections correspond.) The form of all six prayers is Jewish, and abundant evidence has been collected which demonstrate the dependence, from Kohler in *J. E.*, Knopf, the latest commentator on the Didache, to Dr. Finkelstein in The Birkat ha-Mazon in *JQR* (XIX.3, Jan. 1929, pp. 211ff.). The summary result is: *Did.* IX.2 (the blessing over the cup) has the Jewish blessing in mind (cf. Ber. VI.1), for the Christian allusion to Ps. 79(80).9ff. in the words "the holy vine of David thy child" uses as its point of departure the Rabbinic words "fruit of the vine." The blessing of the bread (Cf. Ber ibid.) and the Rabbinic thanksgiving after the meal may in conflation have furnished the antecedents for Did. IX.3, heightened and developed into their Christian form. The petition in Did. IX.4 has as its immediate background the 10th petition of the Tefillah or 'Amidah (cf. Meg. 17b) and the Musaf for the Day of Atonement. The same structure underlies section X of the Didache, and Finkelstein has found in it a close relationship to the *Birkat ha-Mazon*. In his article (loc. cit., pp. 215–216) he puts into parallel columns the substance of Did. X with the three thanksgivings of the *Birkat ha-M.* He also suggests (ibid. p. 234), that even the eschatological close (Did. X.6) is not without Rabbinic affiliations. The order of the three paragraphs in the Did. is not that of the *Berakah*, but it may be asked whether the Christian usage here represented may not have preserved a still more ancient Jewish tradition, since the sequence is more in line with the words of the Torah in Deut. 8.10. Finkelstein urges that the core of these three prayers is probably Maccabean, in which case the significance of the Didache evidence is heightened. The whole procedure given in the Christian source is guided by the same instinct represented by the statements of R. Akiba: "It is forbidden to taste of aught before a blessing has been pronounced upon it" (Ber. 35a), and of Tos. Ber. VII.24 (Zuckermandel, p. 17): The devout Jew is to "eat his bread, pronouncing a blessing before and after."

Elbogen (in *Festschrift zu Israel Lewy's 70tem Geburtstag*, Breslau, 1911, pp. 173–187) has discussed the origin of the Synagogue *kiddush* as from the domestic custom of a household or *ḥaburah*. The transference of this home-observance to the Synagogue, especially prevailing in Babylonia, is marked by the reminiscence of its original association in the words: אין קידוש

אלא במקום סעודה (Pes. 101a). Tos. Ber. V.3 presupposes a kind of community-centre near the synagogue where transients could be entertained: "Travellers who are at table with the father of a family, at the coming of the Sabbath go as soon as dusk comes, into the Synagogue. Then they return and the cup is mixed and the Blessing of the Day pronounced over it." There is confusion in the Tannaitic sources, and no little controversy,—over the exact sequence, order, and number of the various blessings,—and it is difficult to establish a definite chronological succession of the several stages. The Rabbinic evidence is chiefly to be found in: Ber. VI–VIII; Tos. III.7; IV.8; V–VI; the relevant sections of Babli (cf. 35a, 43a, etc.), P. 10d, and in Pes. 101–102.

A similar confusion confronts us when we try to disentangle the evidence presented by the various recensions—chiefly the Verona Latin fragments and the Ethiopic—of the Hippolytan Agape and its relationship to the Eucharist. These two versions (the former in Hauler, pp. 113–114; the latter in Horner's translation, pp. 157–158) describe two kinds of congregational supper. The Latin gives us the picture of the supper held in a private house, with its master acting as host, but with an ecclesiastic present to preside. The food is either to be "consumed on the premises" (to borrow a popular phrase well known in England), or to be taken away as *apoforetum*. They are enjoined to observe due decorum. Each is to be prompt in receiving from the presiding ecclesiastic,—a bishop is the normal person, though a presbyter or deacon will do,—a bit of blessed bread called εὐλογία (=*benedictio*), which is carefully distinguished from that of the Eucharist. Laymen cannot "bless" the food. Exorcized, not blessed, bread is to be given to the catechumens, who are not to recline with the believers.

The Ethiopic contemplates a somewhat different situation. There is first a section (Statute 36) "Concerning Widows and Virgins and at what time the bishop should fast." The text offers some interesting features: while we lack the Latin, we possess the Sahidic (in Funk's edition, II p. 112), and Lietzmann has transferred into a note (op. cit., pp. 183–184, transcription from Vindob. Hist. 7) the original Greek of the passage in question, by which the inaccurate rendition of the Ethiopic may be corrected. There is one phrase of particular interest: "The Bishop cannot fast" (as do the widows, virgins, and the lesser clergy, at will) "save only when all the folk fast. If perchance anyone wish to offer, he may not say him nay. For in all cases he who breaks (the bread) must partake" (*ἐκλάσας δὲ πάντως γεύεται*). The whole substance of this is Rabbinic. Klein (*ZNTW* IX, p. 135) adduces the following from R. H. 29b: "A Tannaitic tradition reports: One may not break bread and say grace for his guests except he eat with them, save when he do so for his children and those of his own household in order to train them in proper religious observance" ת"ר לא יפרוס אדם פרוסה לאורחים אלא אם כן אוכל עמהם אבל פורס הוא לבניו ובני ביתו כדי לחנכן במצות וגו'. In Ber. 47a "R. Judah ben R. Samuel ben Shelat said in the name of Rab: Those who recline at table are not permitted to eat anything until he who breaks bread partakes thereof." אמר רבי יהודה בריה דרב שמואל בר שילט משמיה דרב אין המסובין רשאין לאכול כלום עד שיטעום הבוצע. Lietzmann (op. cit., p. 210, note 2) quotes: המברך צריך שיטעום from Ber. 52a: "He who says the Grace must taste of the food,"—which is practically reproduced by the Greek.

It may be well at this point to return to the Latin, and for the sake of clearness, to quote from it:

> Catecuminis vero panis exorcizatus detur et calicem singuli offerant. Catecuminis in cena dominica non concumbat. Per omnem vero oblationem memor sit qui offert ejus, qui illum vocavit; propterea enim depraecatus est, ut ingrediatur sub tecto ejus. Edentes vero et bibentes cum honestate id agite et non ad ebrietatem et non ut aliquis inrideat, aut tristetur qui vocat vos in vestra inquietudine, sed ut oret, ut dignus efficiatur, ut ingrediantur sancti ad eum. (Hauler, op. cit., pp. 113–114.)

Certain observations may here be made on the above: (1) the catechumens, who are not to receive the "blessed" but only the "exorcized" bread, are yet to offer each his own cup. (2) The guest is to be mindful of his host,—by implication, is expected to pray for him. He is not to put him to shame by his unseemly conduct, but to conduct himself so that his host will be honored by his presence. There are several points of affiliation with Jewish customs which illuminate this religious hospitality. The order of procedure at a dinner-party, as given in Tos. Ber. IV.8 (Zuckermandel, p. 9), is as follows: the guests are seated on *subsellia* or *cathedrae* until all assemble. Wine is brought, over which each recites his own blessing. They then recline, and a second cup is brought, which is blessed for all by one only (Cf. P. ibid., 10d, and Ber. 43a). In Ber. VI.6 the distinction is clearly drawn: "When one sits he says his own blessing, but when he reclines, one says it for all. If wine be brought during a meal, each says his own blessing over it; if after the meal, one recites it for all." The "cup of blessing" in the Christian Agape seems to belong only to the solemn Supper of the Congregation, on which see below. But the private "offering" of a cup by each several person seems to have been the rule not only for the catechumen, but (if the Sahidic text of Canon 48 be trustworthy ("It is fitting for all, before they drink, to take a cup and give thanks (*εὐχαριστεῖν*) over it") for the believer as well. In Ber. 46a R. Yoḥanan in the name of R. Simeon ben Yoḥai directs that the host break the bread and say Grace, while the guest is to say the thanksgiving; the former, that he may dispense hospitality generously, and the latter, that he may invoke a blessing upon his host. What is he to say? "May it be Thy will that the host be not put to shame in this world, nor confounded in the world to come." א"ר יוחנן משום בן יוחי בעל הבית בוצע ואורח מברך בעל הבית בוצע כדי שיבצע בעין יפה ואורח מברך כדי שיברך בעל הבית מאי מברך יהי רצון שלא יבוש בעל הבית בעולם הזה ולא יכלם לעולם הבא.

In the "bringing in of lamps at the supper of the congregation," which is represented only by the Ethiopic (cf. Horner, op. cit., pp. 159–161), we have a most interesting and curious mosaic of originally Rabbinic materials. The text has no exact parallel in the other versions, unless the other type of supper spoken of above, represent it. Dom Connolly urges however (op. cit., pp. 112–116) that some service of this character must have been in the original *A. T.* since the Canons of Hippolytus (Cf. Achelis' edition, in *T. u. U.* VI (1891) c. 32 §§164–168) and the *Testamentum* (ed. Cooper and Maclean, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 129) contain related sections, as does *A. C.* VIII.37ff. For the church represented by the *Canons* the service has become a

Sunday night supper for the poor, the expenses being defrayed by an individual host, and the occasion being accompanied by the Lighting of the Lamp (cf. Lietzmann's description and discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–201). In the *Testamentum* it has become only a solemn lighting of the light by the Deacon, possibly the immediate prototype of the lighting of the Paschal Light in the Latin rite of mediaeval and modern times. This ancient observance has left as a permanent memorial this first Christian hymn outside the N. T.,—the Φῶς ἱλαρόν, so old that it was archaic by the time of St. Basil.

The text of the rite from the Ethiopic (Horner, *op. cit.* pp. 27–29; translation pp. 160–161) follows:

> "*Concerning the bringing in of lamps at the supper of the congregation.* When the evening has come, the bishop being there, the deacon shall bring in a lamp, and standing in the midst of the faithful, being about to give thanks, the bishop shall first give the salutation, saying: 'The Lord (be) with you.' And the people shall also say: 'With thy spirit.' 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord.' And they shall say: 'Right and just, both greatness and exaltation with glory are due to him.' And he shall not say: 'Lift up your hearts,' because that shall be said at the Oblation. And he prays thus, saying: 'We give thee thanks, God, through thy son Jesus Christ our Lord, because thou hast enlightened us by the revealing of the incorruptible light; we having therefore finished the lenght of a day and having come to the beginning of the night, and having been satiated with the light of the day, which thou hast created for our satisfaction, and now since we have not been deficient of the light of the evening by thy grace, we sanctify thee and we glorify thee through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom to thee (be) glory and might and honour with the Holy Spirit now' etc. And they shall say: 'Amen.' And having risen up therefore after supper, the children having prayed, they shall say the psalms, and the virgins: and afterwards the deacon, holding the mingled cup of the Presphora, shall say the psalm from that which is written Haleluya, (and) after that the presbyter has commanded: 'And likewise from those psalms.' And afterwards the bishop having offered the cup, as is proper for the cup, he shall say the psalm Haleluya; and all of them as he recites the psalms shall say Haleluya, which is to say: 'We praise him who is God (most high): glorified and praised is he who founded all the world with one word.' And likewise, the psalm having been completed, he shall give thanks over the cup, and shall give of the fragments to all of the faithful. And as they are eating their supper, those who are the believers shall take a little bread from the hand of the bishop before they partake of their own bread, for it is Eulogia and not Eucharist as the Body of our Lord.

Allowing for a generous degree of development in the document represented by the Ethiopic recension, we may see in it evidence of a Christian conflation of a number of Rabbinic practices. Indications of the ancestry and prototypes of the usages here redacted can be gathered from sundry Jewish customs, of which the observations following suggest a selected group. (1) Elbogen in his Eingang und Ausgang des Sabbats nach talmudischen Quellen (in Lewy's *Festschrift*, Breslau, pp. 179–181) has studied the development of the *kiddush*, from the originally domestic fellowship-meal, in the course of which the Sabbath was greeted; when dusk came was said the Grace (ברכת המזון), and the sanctification of the day (cf. Tos. Ber. V.4). Later—possibly after the Bar Kochba War—came the introduction of the visit to the Synagogue. With the same events occur the institution of a Friday evening service there, which was earlier in Babylonia than in Palestine (cf. Pes. 100b: בני אדם שקדשו בבית הכנסת). Thus the *kiddush* came to be transferred to the Synagogue, and we have a two-fold tradition. (Cf. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*,^{2} 1924, p. 111.)

(2) Of the three chief duties of the housewife one was the kindling of the Sabbath-light, as we learn from authentic Tannaitic tradition (cf. Sabb. II.6). This was a major obligation (cf. Ber. R. 17.14 end), and appears together with the other two in the summary instruction of the female convert in Gerim I.4 (cf. also P. Sabb. I.4 (5b) for the importance of this observance).

(3) Ber. VI.3 prescribes the blessing to be recited over "any (food) whose growth is not from the earth" as ending in the words: שהכל ניהיה בדברו. As Babli understands it, a baraitha construes the provision to include meat, milk, eggs, cheese, etc. (Ber. 40b). Since bread and wine (as well as some other foodstuffs) have their own proper blessing, this would seem to be a "common" form to be used where no special blessing was provided. There is a similar formula in Tos. B. M. VI.15 (ed. Zuckermandel, p. 385) which reads: מי שאמר והיה העולם (ברוך הוא), and this appears in the congratulatory address to the newly baptized convert in Gerim 1.5: במי נדבקת אשריך במי שאמר והיה העולם וגו'. It is also to be found in many other places in the

Tannaitic sources: Mekilta—בא 5d, בשלח 13d, 15c, יתרו 8 (26b), 11 (28a), משפטים 10 (31c), 12 (32c), 18 (34b, c); Ber. R. 81d; Sotah 10b; Sanh. 19a; Sabb. 139a; Meg. 13b etc. (cf. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*,^{2} 1892, p. 389 and n. *e*; Elbogen, *Jüd. Gottesd.*,^{2} p. 525).

(4) Ber. VII.3 gives us the word used by the leader in the common Grace to be recited by certain groups: נברך), which corresponds exactly to the Greek: *εὐχαριστήσωμεν*.

(5) The recitation of the Hallel-psalms (113–118) was associated with the celebration of Passover, and was taken over from the Temple to the Synagogue for that Feast, then later associated also with the New-Moon (cf. Elbogen, *Jüd. Gottesd.* pp. 125, 249).

(6) The Passover prayer of R. Gamaliel in Pes. X.5 reads in part: "We are in duty bound to thank, praise, adore, glorify, extol, honour, bless, exalt, and reverence Him, who wrought these miracles for our ancestors, and for us, for he brought us from bondage to freedom, changed our sorrow into joy . . . *led us from darkness into a great light*" and ends: "Let us therefore say in His presence: Halleluyah!" The latter word was in early Tanniatic times used as a congregational response (cf. P. Sabb. XVI.1 (15c); Sukkah 38b), and then the custom came gradually to be discarded.

While we are not yet clear as to the details of the evolution of the rite represented by the Ethiopic recension of this portion of the *A. T.* (for it may well have been a local Egyptian use, grafted on to the translated Hippolytan text as a substitute for the type of congregational supper represented by the Verona Latin fragments discussed above), there is little doubt as to the spirit and controlling factors involved in it. It must have been very primitive, and certainly lay very near the soil from which Christianity sprang. It is noteworthy that an originally private and quasi-domestic observance should have become a Church service, parallel to the course of the evolution of the *kiddush*. The internal development as well is analogous. Just why the deacon should have come to be the person who should kindle the lamp, is not clear. With the developing tradition and the transmutations due to translation, the original blessing (modeled on the "common" form of the Rabbis) could easily have become: "We praise him who is God . . . who founded all the world with one word." Can we account for the choice of this particular formula, by the suggestion that the proper formula for the blessing of the cup had been specially allocated to the Eucharistic cup? Since "Let us give thanks" derives from Hebrew usage; since the very term εὐλογία, in the Latin *benedictio*, is entirely unidiomatic; since the awkward use of the Greek *εὐχαριστεῖν* throughout bespeaks a sense that it was regarded as transitive; since the very choice of the psalms, and the use of the response *Hallelujah* belongs to current and earlier Jewish usage, we shall be justified in seeing in this archaic Christian service (leaving the Eucharist out of our present view) as well as in the rite, rubrics, and ideas of Christian baptism evident dependence upon Jewish ideas, archetypes, and antecedents.

THE PHARISEES AND THEIR TEACHINGS[1]

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I

THE PHARISEES

THE struggle of ideas and conflicting tendencies which took place among the Jewish people during the third and second pre-Christian centuries and which finally resulted in the formation of two distinct and separate parties, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, was of momentous significance not only for the history and the development of Judaism but also for the history of religion in general. For, this struggle, as well as the subsequent prolonged fight between the two parties, was actually and primarily a fight between two different conceptions of religion, between two opposite views of its aim and purpose. The one, whose keynote was fear, sought to bring God down to man, i. e., nearer to the level of man. Its God was an anthropomorphic God and the worship offered to Him was like the homage and tribute paid to a human king or ruler—all but for the purpose of obtaining His favor or warding off His wrath by pacifying and humoring Him. The other, whose keynote was love, sought to raise man to Divine heights and to bring him nearer to God. Its God was a spiritual God and the worship offered to Him consisted of praising and glorifying His name by helping man to lead a life of imitatio dei[2] and thus to approach Divine perfection.

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[1] The study here presented consists of three lectures delivered by the writer before the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and the Garret Biblical Institute of Evanston, Illinois in April 1928. I have been urged to publish them. But since I am, at present engaged in another piece of literary work, the preparation of the English translation of my new edition of the Mekilta, I cannot take the time to go into a detailed discussion of all the questions connected with the subject of these lectures. I, therefore, publish them as they were given and merely add a few supplementary notes which embody my answers to the questions that were asked of me in the discussion that followed the lectures.

The victory of the latter conception over the former, which, to anticipate what I hope to prove in this course of lectures, was the victory of the Pharisees, determined the course of development of Judaism and thus directly and indirectly exercized great influence upon its daughter religion, Christianity.

For, while the struggle was primarily between the primitive and the spiritual conceptions of religion, it also developed, as time went on, other secondary aspects and later on became "the trial of strength between the purely religious and the political theory of Jewish national life."[3] National life and nationalistic culture naturally go well with primitive conceptions of religion, but do not accord so well with a higher conception of pure religion which of necessity must become universalistic. The victory for higher and purer conceptions of religion, won by the Pharisees, thus necessarily had to result in a broad liberal universalism. And while the Pharisees themselves and the Jewish people that followed them could never entirely give up their national and messianic hopes or their group-consciousness, Christianity which arose among Pharisaic Jews set out to carry this tendency towards a complete religious universalism to its logical conclusion.[4] There can be no doubt that Christianity, in the main, sprang from Pharisaic Judaism. Jesus and his disciples did not belong to the priestly aristocratic party of the Sadducees. They were of the plain humble people who followed the Pharisees. Paul was "a Pharisee, a son of a Pharisee" (Acts 23.6) and the disciple of a Pharisee (Acts 22.3). And while Jesus may have expressed some teachings different from those of the Pharisees, or on some questions may have argued against the Pharisaic interpretation of the Law, in most of his teachings he is in full accord with the Pharisees and his sayings echo the teachings of the Pharisees.[5]

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[2] On the Pharisaic ideal of imitatio dei see Sifre Deut. 49 (Friedmann 85a, b. Sotah 14a) and especially the saying of Abba Saul (Mekilta, Shirata III, Friedmann 37a): "O be thou like Him," נא דמה לו according to the correct reading of the manuscript adopted in my new edition of the text of the Mekilta. Comp. also A. Marmorstein: Die Nachahmung Gottes in der Agada, in *Jüdische Studien Josef Wohlgemuth zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1928) p. 6 ff.

[3] R. Travers Herford, *The Pharisees* (London 1924) p. 45. Comp. also S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (Berlin 1925), Bd. I p. XVII, Bd. II p. 143ff. and 571 ff.; and against him I. Elbogen, Einige Neuere Theorien Über den Ursprung der Pharisäer u. Sadducäer, in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams* (New York 1927) p. 145 ff. Originally and primarily, however, the struggle between the two parties or groups was a struggle of different religious ideas.

[4] The idea of a religious universalism and the tendency of offering its teachings to all mankind were, however, inherent in pre-Christian Pharisaic Judaism from which Christianity took them over. But in the actual carrying

Yet, important and significant as these two parties were for both Judaism and Christianity, they have not been correctly understood until a comparatively recent date. Both Christian and Jewish scholars were wanting in an adequate knowledge of the origin, development, and relative position of these ancient Jewish parties. They did not appreciate the tendencies of the two parties nor did they fully comprehend their ideas. There prevailed in general a complete misunderstanding of their relative positions;

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out of this idea and in the realization of this tendency Christianity did not go further than, nor even as far as, Pharisaic Judaism. The religious universalism of the Pharisees did not suffer from their refusal to give up the identity of the Jewish group. For they welcomed all other nations to attach themselves to the Jewish nation. They did not discriminate against any race or nation that wished to join the Jewish people and become identified with it. It is true, they insisted upon the performance of certain rites on the part of those who wished to join them, but so do the Christians. Pharisaic Judaism demands circumcision as a condition for admission to the Jewish fold; Christianity demands baptism as the condition for admission to the Church. Pharisaic Judaism demands the acceptance of certain Jewish principles of conduct and rules of ethical life; the Church demands the acceptance of certain dogmatic beliefs. Pharisaic Judaism, however, grants salvation to all who live an ethical and moral life, even if they have not formally entered the Jewish fold; Christianity denies salvation to those outside of its fold. The Church declared that there is no salvation outside of the Church: "nulla salus extra ecclesiam." The Synagogue, however, never said: "nulla salus extra synagogam."

[5] Comp. D. Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi* (Leipzig 1908) pp. 85–121, and Joseph Klausner, *Jeshu haNoẓri* (Jerusalem 1922) p. 227, 243–44 and 396 ff. R. Leszynsky, *Die Sadducäer* (Berlin 1912) considers Jesus a Sadducee, but his arguments are not convincing. Even Herford who would consider Jesus an *am haareẓ* and not a Pharisee, admits that "much of his teaching is substantially what the Pharisees also taught" (op. cit. p. 115).

the older party was considered to be the younger, and the one actually the younger was held to be the older.

The blame for this historical error and gross misunderstanding falls upon some Talmudic reports about, as well as some N. T. references to, these two sects or parties. I do not accuse the Rabbis of the Talmud or the Gospel writers of knowingly misrepresenting historic facts for the sake of party interests, though both might have had very good reasons for doing so. I rather think that they both were human and subject to erring. They both could, and in this case, did make mistakes. It is most likely that both the Gospel writers and the authors of some of the Talmudic reports no longer knew the actual conditions and the historic forces that caused the division of the two parties, and hence they could easily misunderstand their relative positions and their respective tendencies. We can well understand how they came to make the mistakes which they made. Their misunderstanding of the historical situation was probably due to the fact that in their time the Pharisees had already gained the victory over their opponents. The Judaism of the second half of the first Christian century was already predominantly Pharisaic. And in the first half of the second Christian century the Pharisaic teachers and leaders of Judaism were practically alone in the field.

We must also remember that both the authors of the Talmudic works and the authors of the N. T. pursued with their writings only religious and theological, perhaps in some measure also polemical, aims, but certainly no archaeological purposes. At any rate, they were not much concerned with historical critical investigations. They were not interested in a study of the changes and the developments which had taken place in Judaism and within Jewry during the time of the second Temple. They probably did not know, or would not acknowledge, that there had taken place great developments, or that changes had been made. They both innocently believed that the Judaism of their time, with its conception of the Torah and with its methods of interpreting the Law, was the same as that of the time of Ezra, if not of the time of Moses. And they naively believed that the authoritative teachers and representative leaders of their time were of the same class or type, and represented the same tendencies, as those of former generations. Hence the Rabbis of the Talmud, who were followers of the Pharisees in their teachings and in their methods of interpreting the Law, believed that these interpretations and these teachings, which they considered correct, had also been held by the great teachers of the past; accordingly, they presented them as the traditions of the fathers. Their party, or the teachers, who cherished these ideas and applied these methods of interpretation, were regarded by them as the party of the faithful, loyal to the traditions of old, who ever since the time of Ezra, if not of Moses, have always been the authoritative teachers, upholders of the Torah, and true leaders of the people. On the other hand, the opponents of that party, the Sadducees, who rejected these teachings and disapproved of these methods of interpreting the Law, were regarded by the talmudic authors as an heretical sect that came into being at a comparatively late date, a party of wicked people or groups organized by Zadok and Boethus, two faithless disciples of a great Pharisaic teacher, Antigonos of Soko. These two disciples, so the talmudic legend runs, misunderstood a saying of their master and drew from it the wrong conclusion, denying the doctrine of Divine retribution. They left their master, went out and organized the two groups, or sects, of Sadducees and Boethusians respectively, who forsook the true teachings and the traditional interpretations of the teachers of old.[6] Thus the historic position of the two parties, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, was reversed in the minds of the Talmudic reporters.

The writers of the Gospels, who were no more adept in historical criticism than their Talmudic contemporaries, likewise made the mistake of identifying, as it were, or putting in one class, the Jewish religious leaders of their times with the Jewish authorities of the time of Jesus. Now, it is true that the Pharisees who were contemporaries of Jesus never recognized him as the

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[6] Abot d. R. Natan, version A. ch. V, version B. ch. X (S. Schechter p. 26). This report cannot be considered historically true, against E. Baneth, *Ursprung der Sadokäer u. Boethosäer*, (Dessau 1882) who regards it as such. It contains, however, a kernel of truth in that it dates back the beginning of the conflict between the two parties to the time of the disciples of Antigonos. See Lauterbach, *Midrash and Mishnah* (New York 1916), p. 58, note 49.

Messiah but otherwise they showed him no unfriendliness. They could not object to his teachings which for the most part at least were in accord with their own; and they certainly did not persecute him.[7] In the times of the Gospel writers the Jewish teachers and leaders who by that time were all of the Pharisees, of course, continued to refuse to believe in the Messiahship of Jesus, and the Gospel writers, therefore, had to polemize against them. But the Gospel writers, knowing no other Jewish leaders and teachers than those of the Pharisee group of their own times imagined that the conditions of their own times also prevailed in the times of Jesus. They naively assumed that the authorities against whom Jesus preached and whom he strongly condemned, and the leaders who persecuted him, were of the same class or type as the Jewish leaders of their own times.[8] Hence, they ascribed to the Pharisees of the times of Jesus actions which the latter could never have performed, and tendencies or characteristics which in reality were those of their opponents.[9] In this way, the Gospel writers also confused the respective religious positions of the two parties and, in many instances at least, gave an inadequate presentation and an incorrect picture of the real aims and aspirations of the Pharisees.

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[7] The Pharisees could not have any reason for persecuting Jesus—if they noticed him at all—the reports of the N. T. to the contrary notwithstanding. Even if his teachings had been different from, or opposed to, their own teachings, the Pharisees would not have sought to harm him. For, according to Pharisaic principles, even the rebellious teacher, the זקן ממרא is punished only if he incites the people to act against the Law, עד שיורה לעשות, but not if he merely holds or preaches heterodox doctrines (M. Sanhedrin XI, 2). And Jesus never incited the people to act against the Law and never preached the neglect of the fulfilment of the commandments. Even if it be true that the Pharisees asked Jesus why his disciples were doing "that which it is not lawful to do upon the Sabbath" (Matthew 12.2ff. and Mark 2.23 ff.) they did not accuse him of causing his disciples to do so. And the principle with which Jesus is said to have defended his disciples, viz. that: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath" (Mark 2.27) was good Pharisaic doctrine. See Mekilta, Tractate Shabbata I, (Friedmann 103b–104a).

Neither could the Pharisees have considered Jesus a blasphemer. If the High Priest declared Jesus a blasphemer he was either ignorant of or in opposition to the Pharisaic interpretation of the Law. For, according to the latter, one can be guilty of blasphemy only if in his alleged blasphemous utterance he mentioned the Tetragrammaton (M. Sanhedrin VII, 5). Jesus, however, used the designation "Power" גבורה and not the Tetragrammaton, aside from the fact that his alleged utterance as such did not constitute a blasphemy. In short, Jesus did not do or say anything which according to the Pharisaic interpretation of the Law was punishable by death. Comp. D. Chwolson, op. cit. p. 86–92 and especially p. 121.

[8] The following instance is an illustration of how the gospel writers, projecting into the past conditions or ideas of their own later times, would substitute "Pharisees" for other people or authorities who had been reported

And even the historian Josephus does not give a full presentation or an adequate picture of these two parties. He fails to furnish us with the historical data about their early beginnings and later developments. In his desire to present to his Greek readers the Jewish sects as philosophical schools, Josephus is merely concerned with some aspects of their respective theological positions and with some of their differences in respect of ideas

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as opposing Jesus. The accusation against Jesus that "he casteth out devils through Beelzebub the chief of the devils" was made, according to Luke (11.15), by some of the people who witnessed the performance of driving out the devil. According to Mark (3.22) this accusation was made by the scribes, who were not necessarily Pharisees, since there also were scribes among the Sadducees (comp. E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* II, Leipzig 1907, p. 380–381). And Mark himself mentions "the Scribes and Pharisees" as two separate groups (Mark 2.16, comp. also Luke 5.30 and Acts 23.9). But Matthew, who is the most bitter in his accusation of the Pharisees, because of his having to argue against the Jewish teachers of his time who were the followers of the Pharisees, reports that: "the Pharisees said, he casteth out devils through the prince of the devils" (Matthew 9.34). Comp. also Shirley Jackson Case, *Jesus, A New Biography* (Chicago 1927) pp. 90, 104–105 and 108.

[9] Thus, the accusation that the Pharisees by their interpretation of the laws regarding vows make the commandment to honor father and mother "of none effect" (Matthew 15. 3–6) is absolutely false. Such an attitude towards vows, as implied by Matthew, could have been taken only by the Sadducees, who, as far as we know, did not accept the principle that a teacher has the authority to declare a vow void, since this principle has no basis whatever in the written Torah (comp. Ḥagigah 10a). The Pharisees, however, taught that vows could be declared void by an ordained teacher when the person who made the vow had a good reason for regretting his having made the vow. The Pharisaic teachers would even suggest to the person who made the vow how he could be released from his vow when it conflicted with the duty of honoring father and mother (M. Nedarim IX, 4). See Lauterbach, Vows, in *Jewish Encyclopedia* XII, p. 451–52 and comp. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament* I (München 1922) to the passage in Matthew, especially p. 715.

and beliefs, but he does not give any positive historical information about the origin and the respective development of the two sects.[10] No wonder, then, that for centuries, up to recent times, these two ancient parties and their respective tendencies and relative positions, were not correctly understood even by scholars. The source material was deficient in direct and positive historical data.

And yet in each of these ancient sources there are to be found some details of the conflict between the two parties or some references to one or another of its aspects, which hint at the real differences in their respective viewpoints. Each one of the three sources, Josephus, the Talmud, and the New Testament, gives, implicitly or explicitly, some correct information about these two parties. There is enough factual material as well as significant indications preserved in the Talmud and Josephus—some even in the New Testament—which, if rightly understood and correctly interpreted, throw light on the respective theological positions of the two parties and reveal especially the true character and teachings of the Pharisees. But the mistake made by these ancient reporters in regard to the chronological order and the relative historical position of the two parties made even their correct data and their other valuable information less clear and more difficult to understand. For the one mistake of necessity, brought others with it. Once the parties were put in a false historical order, or given the wrong historical setting, their views, beliefs, and tendencies were also, to some extent at least, viewed in a false light.

If we wish to understand correctly the character and the tendencies of the two parties, we must first correct that error and put each historically in its correct place. We shall then have no difficulty in correctly understanding the ancient reports about them. The information thus gathered from these reports, critically examined and correctly interpreted, will give an adequate picture and a correct presentation of the characteristic tendencies of the two parties. It will thus lead especially to an appreciation of the character, position, tendencies, and teachings of the Pharisees.

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[10] Josephus also assumes that the Pharisees were the older sect. For, in describing the sects he refers to the Pharisees as "the first sect" (Wars II, 8. 2; Antiquities XVIII, 1. 3). And like the Talmud (Berakot 29a) he reports that John Hyrcanus had originally been a disciple of the Pharisees and then turned against them and joined the Sadducees (Antiquities XIII, 10. 5).

Let us begin, then, with the question as to the relative historical position of these two parties and their respective attitudes towards tradition. The Pharisees were not the older conservative party who preserved the older methods of interpretation and followed the traditional applications of the law (Torah), although, paradoxical as this may sound, they did advocate the authority of Tradition as such. The Sadducees, on the other hand, were not the heretical group who broke away from the older teachings and denied the true traditions of the fathers. The reverse was the case.[11] The Sadducees were the older, conservative party who adhered strictly to the traditional, simple methods of interpreting the Torah, and who preserved the older, primitive conceptions of religion and beliefs about the Torah and the character of its authority. They practiced the ancient laws exactly as prescribed in the Torah. They retained and held to the traditional belief that there is no other authority equal to the authority of the Torah. They would not recognize any other authority as equal to that of the Torah, not even the authority of Tradition; and hence they denied the binding character of the so-called traditional laws. The Pharisees, on the other hand, were the younger, progressive party composed originally of democratic laymen who outgrew some of the older notions, cherished modern and liberal ideas and therefore became separated from the older group and formed a distinct party. They were the liberal separatists, the dissenters who rejected some of the ancient traditional conceptions of religion and who broke away from the primitive traditional attitude towards the Torah. They invoked the very authority of Tradition to support them in their fight against some harmful traditions.

These were, generally speaking, the relative historical positions of the two parties and their respective viewpoints. But both parties had their antecedents. Their platforms were not newly made. The opposing parties did not suddenly spring into existence, fully developed and in such shape as we see them when already in actual combat. Even the Pharisees, the younger party, were merely as a party younger than their opponents; they were comparatively newcomers but not entirely newly-born. Though as a party they were younger and of recent date, yet the tendency followed by them was not entirely novel or new. In their spirit and for their ideas they went back, though not in a direct line, to older prototypes; and their opponents, the Sadducees, surely had behind them a long line of predecessors. To understand and appreciate correctly the Pharisees and their teachings, one must go back not only to Ezra and his work[12] but even beyond Ezra and his time to the works of the prophets, just as to understand the Judaism which the Pharisees developed and so strongly modified and spiritualized one must go back to its very source and its basis in preëxilic times. For the roots of the Pharisaic ideas, the very origin of their principles, the basis of their religious philosophy or theology, are to be found in the teachings of the prophets of old. The Pharisees were the spiritual heirs or the actual, though not the direct, successors of the prophets. They came to their inheritance a long time after the departure of the prophets. But once they entered it they asserted their right to the heritage, persisted in keeping and developing it, and they carried on the fight of their spiritual forbears to a successful victory.

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[11] On the question, how the conservative Sadducees came to reject, and the progressive Pharisees came to recognize, the authority of the traditional law, see Lauterbach, The Sadducees and Pharisees, in *Studies in Jewish Literature, issued in honor of Dr. K. Kohler* (Berlin 1913) p. 176–198.

For the fight of the Pharisees against the Sadducean priestly aristocracy with its primitive ideas of religion as a cultus and particularistic conceptions of God, Israel, and the Torah was, practically, but a revival of the old opposition of the prophets to the priesthood. It was a renewal, in a more persistent manner, of the conflict between the prophets and the priestly organization of preexilic times. The attitudes and the tactics of the prophets and the Pharisees in their respective struggles show many parallels and striking similarities. Like the prophets, the Pharisees in principle had little use for the sacrificial cult, but tolerated it, when not accompanied by false conceptions of God and not resulting in unethical conduct towards man. They fought it when it tended to lead to wrong conceptions of religion. And just as the prophets in the course of time came to combine the priestly doctrine with the prophetical ideas, made their peace with the sacrificial cult but sought to regulate and improve it, so also did the Pharisees in the course of time, as they prevailed against their opponents, make their peace with the entire priestly ritual and the sacrificial service of the Temple, but they sought to regulate and improve it, spiritualize it and democratize it.[13] In fact, the very secret of their great success lay just in this, that they used against their opponents the very materials accumulated by the latter. They employed for their own higher spiritual purposes their opponent's equipment and institutions. They took over the control of the Temple service and combined with it a higher form of worship. They introduced into the Temple the service of the Synagogue. They retained the ritual of the Temple, but made it expressive of spiritual truths. They prescribed rites but made them symbolize right thinking and just conduct. They developed a ceremonial but it was suggestive of ethical ideals and of advanced religious beliefs. They recognized and admitted the principle adhered to by their opponents, that the Torah is the supreme and only authority and that its laws must be fulfilled by the Jew, but they defined the term Torah differently and extended it to mean more than the *written laws* contained in the five books of Moses. They followed the precepts of the Torah but they first humanized them by interpreting them according to the spirit and not according to the letter.

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[12] See Herford, op. cit. p. 18 ff.

For the Pharisees were not only heirs of the prophets but also disciples of the priests—and very apt disciples at that. A brief review of the history of Judaism, prior to the actual division into the two parties, will show that the two groups, that were later on to become separate and opposing parties, for a long time occupied common ground. The budding younger group started out as alert and eager disciples of the older, priestly group. For a long time, and for a considerable distance, they travelled together along the road of the history and the development of post-exilic Judaism, with but occasional manifestations of minor disagreements. When differences first arose they were not so pronounced and could be settled peacefully; the master, secure in his position and conscious of his authority, yielded a little, and the pupil respectful or reverential, submitted to the authority of his elders. But gradually the disagreements became frequent and more pronounced, and they were more strongly felt by both groups. The differences increased and became intensified, making it impossible for master and pupil to keep on travelling together. They reached a point where their ways parted and they finally separated from one another completely. The master was indignant and embittered against the ungrateful, disloyal, and pretentious pupil. The pupil, resolute in his zeal, was determined not to let any consideration interfere with his pursuit of righteousness and search for truth—not even respect for his elders. He acted on the principle, later on enunciated and followed by the Pharisaic party, that "where a higher cause is at stake even the honor and the respect due to a teacher are to be disregarded."[14] This brief historical review will show us the immediate causes of the final breach between the two groups, the conditions that prepared and the forces that led up to the formation of the two parties; in other words, Pharisaism in the making.

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[13] And when the Pharisaic teachers after the destruction of the Temple hoped for its restoration, they had their prototype in the priest-prophet Ezekiel.

I said before that the struggle between Pharisees and Sadducees was, in a way, but a renewal of the conflict between prophets and priests of preexilic times. Now, that old conflict had never been fought to a finish. No party had won a decisive victory. A compromise was effected in the Deuteronomic reformation which, for a time at least, seemed to have secured peace without victory. But soon Judea was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, Jerusalem and the Temple were destroyed, and the people were exiled to Babylon. This national catastrophe, seemingly, decided in favor of the prophetic ideas and dealt a death blow to the priestly conceptions of religion among the Jewish people.

Brooding over the sad fate which had befallen their country and their nation, living in a foreign land, away from the holy city, deprived of a Temple with its sacrificial cult, and without the priestly oracle, the people of Judea could not help learning to appreciate the truth of the prophetic teachings, viz., that God is everywhere and not only in Palestine or Jerusalem, that He is the Lord of all the universe, ruling and guiding the destinies of all peoples, and not only that of Israel; that He can be served by other means than offering sacrifices to Him, nay, that even more than sacrifices He desires a true knowledge of Him and His law. And, no doubt, the prophetic ideas about the One God and the universality of His law, the one humanity and Israel's special place in it, took root in the minds of many Judeans and began to be formulated already during their exile in Babylon.

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[14] כל מקום שיש חלול השם אין חולקים כבוד לרב Sanhedrin 82 and Shebuot 30b.

But when the returned exiles rebuilt the Temple and restored the sacrificial cult, the priests were also restored to their former position as religious leaders. The priestly conceptions, then, regained their influence and overshadowed the prophetic ideas. The Jewish people in Judea during the Persian period constituted an autonomous religious community with the High Priest as its chief and highest religious authority, though politically under the control of the Persian rulers. This reorganized community received from Ezra, the priest and scribe, the Law of Moses. They entered into a covenant and pledged themselves by a solemn oath to walk in the ways of the Law of God which was given by Moses, to obey it and to observe and to do all its commandments, its judgments and statutes (Nehemiah 10.1 [English Translation 9.38]—29ff). In this manner, then, by the binding power of the covenant and the solemn oath, the Torah, or the Book of the Law of Moses, became the constitution of the reorganized community in Judea, the law whose precepts were to be binding upon every Jew. This law was to be the only authority recognized by the people; but the priests, especially the priest-scribes, the successors of Ezra, were the keepers of the Book of the Law, the official teachers and interpreters of the Torah.[15]

This was as it should be and as it always had been. It was in perfect harmony with traditional usage and in keeping with the old custom that had prevailed in Israel and Judah from time immemorial. The people were accustomed to believe that the priests were the rightful teachers of the Law. They used to say: "For instruction (Torah) shall not perish from the priests" (Jeremiah 18.18; comp. also Ezekiel 22.26 and 44.15–24, Hosea 4.6, Micah 3.11). The two functions of officiating at the altar of God and of teaching the Law of God went together. The priest who ministered to God and brought to Him the sacrifices and offerings of the people, also ministered to the people and brought to them a message from God, and taught them His law. And the Torah itself, the very law which the reorganized community had accepted as their authority, points to these two functions of the priests, the sons of the tribe of Levi. In Deut. 33.10 it says: "They shall teach Jacob Thy Judgments and Israel Thy Law; they shall put incense before Thee and whole burnt sacrifices upon Thy altar." And in Deut. 17 these priests are designated as the authoritative teachers and competent interpreters of the law, who alone have the right and the authority to render judgments according to the law and to decide all questions of law, ritual or religious practice. The post-exilic community that accepted from Ezra the Torah as its chief authority, consequently, recognized the authority of the priests, designated by that Torah, as its competent teachers and interpreters. The people were satisfied that "the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth" (Malachi 2.7). Under the leadership of the High Priest the priest-scribes no doubt formed some sort of an organization, an official body vested with authority to arrange all religious matters and to settle all questions of the life of the community in accordance with the Law as they interpreted it. Throughout the entire Persian period, then, these priests, while teaching the Torah, naturally taught it according to their primitive understanding of it. They interpreted its laws simply and literally. And while striving to preserve the religion of the fathers and to spread the knowledge of it among the people, it was their own priestly conceptions of that religion which they preserved and sought to perpetuate among the people. No prophet arose to criticize them, to challenge their interpretations of the Law, or to dispute their authority as religious leaders of the community.

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[15] See Lauterbach, *The Sadducees and Pharisees*, pp. 180–182 and p. 187 note; *Midrash and Mishnah* p. 44 note 39 and pp. 58–60; and see below note 18

But the seed sown by the prophets, which, as we have seen, found a favorable soil in the minds of the people during the exile, was not lost. The prophetic ideas about Israel, God and His Law were not entirely forgotten. They were cherished and preserved at least by some of the choice spirits among the people. And when conditions became favorable, those ideas became more articulate and found their expression in a movement participated in by many of the pious lay people.

These favorable conditions came after the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander which brought Judea under Greek rule and which indirectly helped to weaken and undermine the authority of the priestly organization in Judea.[16] The third century was the period of germination for those ideas of the prophets which had been clearly recognized in the exile but pushed into the background in Palestine during the Persian period.

The Greek governments under which the Jewish people now lived, while not interfering much with the internal affairs or the religious life of the community, would, of course, not especially favor that priestly organization nor give it much support. The disturbed conditions, brought about by the wars between Alexander's successors and the repeated changes in sovereign rulers, were likewise not favorable to the continuation of the organization of priests as the undisputed official authorities and leaders of the community. As a matter of fact, in the third century B. C. E. there were already among the people many laymen, i. e., Israelites, or rather men of Judah, of non-priestly families, who possessed a knowledge of the Law and of the prophets and of the teachings of their religion. The people were no longer entirely dependent on the organization of the priests for their religious instruction. The lips of the priests were not the sole keepers of religious knowledge, and the people could occasionally seek and obtain instruction in the Torah from the mouths of non-priestly Israelites.[17]

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[16] See Lauterbach, *Midrash and Mishnah* p. 40ff.

[17] See ibidem p. 46ff. Such a lay-teacher was Jesus Siraḥ. Siraḥ was not a priest. He was not one of the older Soferim, for he lived at about 200 B. C. E., after the close of the period of the Soferim. The early Soferim were priests. But during the third century, especially towards the close of it, there were

With the spread of the knowledge of the Torah among the people there spread also some ideas arousing doubts as to the privileges and undisputed authority of the priests. From that very Torah, considered as the highest authority by both priests and people, the people learned that they were all meant to be "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod. 19.6), and that "the Torah which Moses commanded was intended to be the inheritance of the entire congregation of Jacob" (Deut. 33.4), and not the exclusive possession of one privileged class, the priests. And while the story of the terrible fate of Korah and his associates would deter people from any attempt at rebellion against the priestly leaders, and no one would dare as yet openly and positively to question the authority of the priests, yet people could not help remembering also the words of those ancient rebels recorded in the book of Numbers: "Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them; wherefore, then, lift ye up yourselves above the assembly of the Lord?" (Num. 16.3). In their minds, at least, the lay leachers of the third century B. C. E. must have addressed these words to the priestly leaders of their own time.

They may have been encouraged in these vague doubts and questionings of the authority of the priests by their new environ-

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already teachers of both groups, priests and lay people. Siraḥ belonged to the latter. While he cannot be considered a Pharisee, as there was not yet a distinct party of Pharisees in his time, he certainly was not a Sadducee; that is, he did not share the ideas of that aristocratic priestly group that later on came to be known as the Sadducean party. The fact that Siraḥ does not mention the belief in the resurrection of the dead is no argument to the contrary. At most this would merely be an argumentum e silentio which has no weight in this case. He may not have had occasion to mention this belief; or this belief may not as yet have become definitely formulated by the lay-group of his time. At any rate, there is no indication in the Talmudic literature that Siraḥ was regarded as a Sadducee. On the contrary, the Rabbis have rather given Jesus Siraḥ positive recognition and have declared that his book was offering some good teachings. This shows that they did not regard him as a Sadducee. Comp. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I (Cambridge 1927) pp. 37ff. 24 and 44.

ment, and by the acquaintance with Greek institutions which not only the Jews in the Diaspora but also the Jews in Palestine, had made during the third century. There were in Palestine during the third century many Greek colonies, settled in special cities or communities, which were administered along the lines of Greek democracies. In these democratic communities all free citizens were equal and every member of the community participated in its rule and had a share in the administration of the communal affairs. These ideas of liberty and democratic principles the Jews found to be in accord with the laws of the Torah and the teachings of the prophets. And yet they noticed that their own system of communal government was in one important feature fundamentally different from that obtaining in the Greek democracies. Among the Greeks the priests were the servants of the people and not its rulers, while in their own community the Jews found that their rulers and chief authorities were the priests. The people felt—and it was not a pleasant feeling—that in this respect their system of communal government did not compare favorably with that of the Greeks. The explanation that their community was really ruled by the Torah which they, the people themselves, had accepted as their chief authority, and that the priests were merely the interpreters of the Torah who guide and direct the people in the name and according to the laws of that Torah, could not for long satisfy them. For the lay teachers would naturally ask, why should the priests alone be the authoritative interpreters and official administrators of the Torah? If the Torah is the constitution and the sole guide and law of the community, then knowledge of it alone, and not any inherited family privilege, should qualify one for participation in the government of the community by interpreting and administering the laws of the Torah. Recognizing the Torah as their chief authority and believing it to be the Law of God, perfect and right in all its precepts, true and righteous in all its ordinances (Ps. 19.9–10), these pious lay students of the Law soon came to believe that the Torah indeed never meant to give the priests any special privilege with regard to interpreting and administering its laws. And when the Torah mentions the priests as the authoritative teachers of the law whose interpretations must be accepted and whose decisions must be obeyed (Deut. 17), it merely describes a condition but does not prescribe a rule. They were given the right to interpret and administer the law, not as a hereditary class privilege or family distinction. This right was given to the priests because it just happened in ancient times that they alone had cultivated the Torah and known it; and they, therefore, were in a position to teach and interpret it. This privilege given to that group of teachers because of their knowledge of the law and not because of their being priests, is, therefore, equally to be enjoyed by any one of non-priestly birth who has an adequate knowledge of the Torah. This must have been the line along which the lay-teachers reasoned. It was probably the first instance of departure from the literal, simple meaning of the words of the Torah, and the first attempt at interpreting the Torah not strictly according to its letter, but according to the spirit and the purpose aimed at by the law. Possibly these pious lay-teachers were surprised themselves when realizing that they were interpreting the law in that novel and unheard-of manner. But they persuaded themselves into believing that their interpretation was correct. They probably found a support, if not the suggestion, for their interpretation in another passage of the Torah where it is said of the priests: "They shall teach Jacob Thine ordinances and Israel Thy law" (Deut. 33.10). They found that this declaration, designating the priests as the authoritative teachers, is preceded and, as it were, motivated by the words in verse 9: "For they have observed Thy word and kept Thy covenant." In other words, it was only because the priests had kept the Torah, observed it and studied it, that they were qualified and authorized to teach and interpret it. And, therefore, any one, not of the priests, who has studied the Torah, acquired a knowledge of it and is thus in a position to teach it, must likewise have the authority to interpret and administer the law. For, "the Torah commanded to us by Moses is the heritage of the congregation of Jacob" and not of the family of Aaron or the tribe of Levi. So the learned pious men of Israel, of non-priestly descent, began to demand their share in the heritage. They claimed the right to have the same authority of interpreting and administering the law, as was enjoyed by the priests. Of course, we have no express records of this phase of the struggle.[18] We cannot tell how boldly and how forcefully this claim was made, nor do we know with certainty the arguments put forth in support of this claim. But this much is certain; the group of Israelitish, non-priestly students of the Torah, the pupils of the elder priestly group, made this demand successfully. The master, willingly or forced by circumstances, had to yield. And the pupil became the colleague. For in the beginning of the second century we find that the new Sanhedrin, or the Gerousia, the authoritative body in charge of all the affairs of the community, the body interpreting and administering the law, was composed of both priests and Israelites. To use the phraseology of the Zadokite Document, it was an assembly of "men of understanding from Aaron" and of "wise teachers from Israel."[19]

With this admission of lay teachers to the new Sanhedrin, which practically meant a recognition of their authority as interpreters and administrators of the law and their equality with the priests, the fight between them and the older priestly group was by no means settled. It really just began. It now developed into a conscious determined fight, fought within that new Sanhedrin which had as its task to arrange and regulate the life of the people according to the Torah which the people in the times of Ezra had pledged themselves to obey and follow. The task of that assembly was a very difficult one. The Torah seemed inadequate for the new life. All the laws contained in the Torah interpreted literally and in the simple manner, as they were, would seem insufficient to meet the demands now made upon it or to answer the needs of the new situation which had arisen in the life of the community. The conditions of life now prevailing in Judea were very different from conditions in the times of Ezra when the people accepted the Torah and pledged themselves by oath to follow all its precepts. These changed conditions created new situations in life. Questions arose for which no answer could be found in the Books of the Law. There came up unprecendented cases of law, ritual or practice, which could not be decided on the basis of any law or precept in the Torah as traditionally interpreted. The problem before this new Sanhedrin, composed of priests and lay-teachers, was, how to find in the old law new rules, answers to new questions, decisions for entirely new cases; in other words, how to harmonize law with life, the old law of the fathers with the new life of the day. Each one of the component groups of that new Sanhedrin looked at the problem before them from a different point of view. Each one of them had a different approach to its solution.

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[18] See Lauterbach, *The Sadducees and the Pharisees*, op. cit. p. 185 note and pp. 190–191. An echo of this ancient struggle between the lay-people and the priests is perhaps to be found in the following passage of the Midrash אלה הדברים זוטא quoted in Yalḳuṭ Shimeoni to Deut. 27.9 (938), which reads: וידבר משה והכהנים והלוים מה דברים היו שם ללמדך שבאו ישראל ואמרו למשה נטלת את התורה ונתת לכהנים שנאמר ויכתוב משה את התורה הזאת ויתנה אל הכהנים אמר להם משה רצונכם שיכרתו לכם ברית שכל מי שמבקש ללמוד תורה לא יהא נמנע אמרו לו הן עמדו ונשבעו שאין אדם נמנע מלקרות בתורה שנאמר אל כל ישראל לאמור אמר להם משה היום הזה נהיית לעם. This passage expresses a protest against assigning the interpretation and administration of the Torah to the priests.

[19] See *Midrash and Mishnah* pp. 50–52.

The attempts at solving the problem, the various proposals to meet the difficult situation, brought out in sharp contrast the differences in tendency and outlook, between the older priestly group and the younger group of non-priestly teachers and members, the newcomers to authority. The latter whose very claim to equal authority with the priests was, as we have seen, based upon, or at least supported by, an interpretation of one passage in the Torah according to its spirit, would not hesitate to follow the same method in the case of other passages of the Torah containing laws and precepts. They would be ready to depart from the letter of the Torah and interpret it according to the spirit and its underlying ideas, so as to find in it answers to new questions, or discover in it principles which would guide them in deciding new cases or solving new problems. Again, in seeking to define what constitutes the law of the fathers, these lay-teachers would naturally not be as strict and as literal as the older priestly group. The very fact that they claimed for themselves, though they were not of priestly descent, equal authority with the priests, would prevent them from deprecating such customs and practices as had for some time been observed by the people, even though these customs and practices had never been officially sanctioned or recognized by the priestly authorities.

After all, to their way of thinking, the priests were not the exclusive authorities, to determine what is religious practice or custom of the fathers. Might not, so these lay-teachers were inclined to argue, the people who introduced or indorsed these practices have had good reasons or reliable authority for these practices, even though the priests had not known them, or refused to recognize them? Might not the Torah, which is not to be understood only literally, be so interpreted as to suggest indorsement of such practices, or so defined as to include all good customs of the fathers, preserved by the people but not expressly written in the words of the Torah, and not recognized by the priests? It was along such lines of reasoning that the lay-group proposed to solve the problem before them.

The older priestly group, on the other hand, could never follow in this direction. They could not entertain such radical notions as to the method of interpreting the Torah, and would not admit the possibility of some popular practices having a religious authority behind them, when they and their forbears, the priestly teachers of old, had never known them. They would, of course, not admit that there ever were any authorities other than that of the priests. They and their priestly forbears alone had always been the sole religious authorities and official teachers of the law. With their primitive conceptions about the authority of the Torah, and refusing to admit that they, the long established teachers of that Torah, did not understand it correctly, they would hold on to their old methods of interpreting the law, taking its words according to their literal meaning. And, accordingly, they would naturally propose to solve the problem before them in a manner compatible with their conservative ideas and tending to secure for them their old prerogatives and to perpetuate them in their old privileged position as the authoritative leaders.

These differences in the attempts at meeting the difficult situation were, of course, the expressions of different conceptions of the Torah and of different religious outlooks; but the two groups, as yet, did not recognize their differences as fundamental and irreconcilable. They still hoped to be able to compose their differences and work together. For a time, the two groups in that new Sanhedrin struggled to agree. For about twenty years, according to the Zadokite Document,[20] these two groups worked together, making honest efforts to compose their differences and endeavoring to find the right way for regulating the life of the people in accordance with the laws of the fathers. But the aggressive campaign for hellenization inaugurated by the Syrian rulers, and abetted by some traitorous priests which soon resulted in religious persecution, interrupted the functioning of that new Sanhedrin. In the face of the great danger, that threatened the Torah and the religious life of the community, the two groups who, although differing in tendency and point of view, were both true to the Torah, as they understood it, and loyal to the religion of the fathers, forgot their differences and their disagreements. The pious men of Israel joined the faithful priests in the fight against the common foe, the enemy of their religion.[21]

But after the Maccabean victory when peace was established and religious freedom secured, when under a government of their own, headed by a king-high priest, the Jews were to live according to the religion of their fathers, the entire life of the people was again to be regulated and controlled by the laws of the Torah, as interpreted by the rightful authorities. Then the question of who constitutes the rightful authority to interpret the law was again raised, and the differences between the two groups as regards the interpretation of the Torah and the conception of the religion of the fathers again became keenly felt. Both parties now recognized that their differences were fundamental and irreconcilable. The group of lay-teachers realized that their conception of the Torah, and their interpretation of its contents and hence their whole religious outlook were radically different from those of the older priestly group. And they concluded that they could no longer continue to work together with that group. The priestly group, on the other hand, now again under the rule of a sovereign of their own, and backed by the power of a political government, were less willing to yield their authority and give up any of their ancient privileges.

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[20] See *Midrash and Mishnah* pp. 57–58.

[21] See I Macc. 2.42ff. and comp. *Midrash and Mishnah* p. 53 note 47.

So finally, during the reign of John Hyran, the non-priestly teachers, the *Ḥakme Israel* (חכמי ישראל), were excluded from membership in the assembly or the Sanhedrin and branded as Dissenters or Separatists. The name, פרושים, Separatists, was given them by the priestly party and was meant as a taunt, the expelled ones, or, those who are different.[22] They accepted this taunt and took up the name of *Perushim*, Pharisees, but interpreted it as a title of honor, the Separatists who separated and held aloof from those who do not follow the right way, who do not interpret the Torah correctly, and who have the wrong conceptions about God and Israel. Thus was formed the party of the Pharisees, who were conscious of their separateness and different from the priestly group that now came to be called the Sadducean party.

How the Pharisees developed their teachings which had their roots in the ideas of the prophets; how, independent of, and in opposition to, the traditional priestly authorities, they created a tradition of their own and developed a traditional law, interpreting and supplementing the written law, and how they developed and formulated their liberal doctrines of Judaism based upon the right conceptions of God, Israel and the Torah, we shall discuss in the next two lectures.

II

THE PHARISEES' ATTITUDE TOWARD LAW AND TRADITION

For a correct understanding and an adequate appreciation of the teachings of the Pharisees, it is necessary to ascertain the fundamental principles underlying their teachings and the ideas which guided them in interpreting the Law and in regulating religious practice. A detailed presentation of their teachings is not within the scope of these lectures nor would it serve our purpose. A mere enumeration of all the differences between them and their opponents on questions of law and ritual, even if accompanied by the arguments said to have been advanced by each party, would not give us an adequate knowledge of their respective ideas and teachings. We would still have to search for the real reasons for these differences and for the motives that caused the Pharisees to oppose this or that ritual practice of their opponents, or to interpret this or that law differently. For even when reasons for their differences are stated in the traditional reports, they may not have been the real reasons. And where the arguments, they are said to have advanced in their disputes with their opponents, are reported, one cannot with certainty learn from them the real reasons for their position in the dispute. For, in the first place, these arguments, even if actually advanced by the Pharisees themselves, may, like most arguments in polemics, have aimed more at confounding the opponents than at explaining their own position and setting forth their own real reasons. Secondly, they may represent later explanations or ex post facto justifications of their positions.

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[22] See, *The Sadducees and Pharisees* p. 195–6 and comp. Pseudo-Tertullian, *Against All Heresies* ch. I. Later on, with the development of their special methods of interpreting the Law, the name "Perushim," slightly changed and pronounced "Paroshim" may have been taken as indicating "interpreters" or "expounders" of the Law. A very fanciful interpretation of the origin of the name "Perushim" is given by Solomon Rubin in his Yalḳuṭ Shlomoh (Krakau 1896) pp. 66–67. According to him, it originally was פרסים, denoting the people who came back from Persia (that is, the Babylonian Exile), but later on it was changed to פרושים, meaning "Separatists" or "Interpreters" of the Law.

On the other hand, if we ascertain the fundamental differences, the ideas and beliefs, that distinguished the Pharisees from their opponents, we can appreciate their whole religious outlook. We shall then, without need of going into details, be able to obtain a correct understanding of all their teachings, and to know the real reasons for all the differences on questions of law, practice and ritual. For the latter are merely the logical, and in some instances psychological, results of the former. It was their religious ideas, their theological principles, that prompted the Pharisees in their opposition to the older priestly party, and determined their interpretation of the Law and the stand they took on certain questions of ritual.

We shall, therefore, consider primarily how the Pharisees understood the three central concepts of Judaism; viz., God, Israel, and the Torah, which are fundamental doctrines in Judaism, or, as one might call them, the Jewish Trinity. For, the understanding and interpretation of these three concepts decides the character of Judaism and determines all its aspects, its laws and rituals, its beliefs and practices. These three ideas are in Judaism intimately connected with one another, and in Jewish thought they are inseparable. To use the words of an older Jewish mystic, "While these three are separate and distinct concepts, they are almost like one, in that they are bound together and cannot be separated from one another."[23] In other words, these three ideas hang together and are inextricably interwoven. A primitive conception of one of them effects also a wrong view of the two others and results in a narrow backward religious outlook. An advanced view of the one of them must by logical necessity lead to a correspondingly advanced understanding of the two others and results in a broad liberal conception of religion, as indeed was the Pharisees' conception. The very fact, however, that these three ideas are so intimately connected, depending upon and conditioning one another, makes it very difficult to discuss one of them apart from the others. One can hardly give a separate presentation of one of them without occasionally repeating, and without getting into a discussion of the other or touching upon some aspect of the third. And yet we cannot discuss all three of them together. A lucid presentation of the Pharisaic understanding of these three concepts demands that we consider them separately and treat each one of them independently of the others, even at the risk of being involved in unavoidable repetitions.

Now, the Pharisees themselves started with some new ideas about the Torah, and, recognizing the Torah as their chief authority, found in the Torah, as they understood and interpreted it, all their other teachings—even their understanding of the other two central concepts, God and Israel. It is, therefore, but logical for us to begin with a discussion of their conception of the

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[23] ג' דרגין אינון מתקשרין דא בדא קב"ה אורייתא וישראל וכו'. . . Zohar, Aḥare Mot (Lublin 1872) p. 129 and 145–146. A later Jewish mystic, R. Israel Besht, goes farther by saying: קוב"ה ואורייתא וישראל כולא חד (*Keter Shem Ṭob II* [Slavita] p. 2a).

Torah. Such a discussion must of necessity include also a consideration of their attitude towards the Tradition of the fathers, which for the Pharisees, at least in their later development, constituted a part or one aspect of the Torah.

The Torah is the cornerstone of Judaism, the basis of all its teachings. But, for the Pharisees, the Torah contained much more than their opponents could or would find in it. As they understood it, the Torah comprised all and expressed all. We have, therefore, to inquire, what, according to the Pharisees, is the Torah? What is its origin? Upon what does its binding authority rest? For whom is it intended? What is its aim and purpose? How is it to be understood and interpreted? We can answer these questions best by first learning the views of the opponents of the Pharisees on these questions. We must, therefore, first make clear to ourselves what was the conception of the Torah held by priests and people before the advent of the Pharisees, the conception which the Sadducees continued to hold even after the Pharisees broke away from them. And then, knowing the points of departure from which the Pharisees started, we shall understand better how radically they differed from the older party in their views on these questions. By contrasting these views with those of the older party, we shall be able to appreciate the great advance their conception of the Torah represents.

Now, the Torah was the common ground upon which both Sadducees and Pharisees stood. The position held by priest and laity alike, before that group of lay-teachers, the Pharisees to be, started on their progressive march towards advanced Pharisaism, was, that the authority of the Torah was supreme and binding upon the people, and that every one of its laws had to be carried out strictly and scrupulously. In what light the older priestly group considered the Torah, and what was to them the nature of its authority, what ideas they had about the binding character of its laws, we learn from the account of the procedure at that solemn assembly in which the Torah was accepted by the people. When the people accepted the Torah, read to them by Ezra, they entered a covenant and pledged themselves by a solemn oath to observe and keep its laws. We read in Nehemiah (10.1, 29–30) as follows: "And yet for all this we make a sure covenant and subscribe it; and our princes, our Levites, and our priests, set their seal unto it . . . And the rest of the people, the priests, the Levites . . . they cleaved to their brethren, their nobles and entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord, our Lord, and His ordinances and His statutes." It is evident from this account that in order to insure allegiance to the Torah and obedience to its laws it was deemed necessary for the people to enter a covenant and pledge allegiance by oath. According to ancient primitive belief, the only sure method of enforcing obedience to the Law, especially on the part of future generations, was to make the people take an oath to keep the Law and thereby to impose a curse upon its transgressors. An oath was regarded as eternally binding and remaining in force for all times, its violation automatically bringing the stipulated curse as a necessary consequence. The Torah then, according to this primitive view, acquired its binding character solely from the oath by which the people had pledged themselves to keep it. This idea, that the authority of the Torah is based upon the oath and the promise of the people and that it derives its binding character from the curse imposed upon or pronounced against those who would transgress it, finds expression in the Torah itself, especially in Deut. 29.9–30.20. It was only by means of the oath and the curse that the covenant could be made even with those not present at the time, and could be considered as binding upon the children of all future generations (Deut. 29.13–14, 28). For, whenever the children would violate the oath and transgress the law, the necessary result would be that the stipulated curse would come and be poured out upon them (cf. Daniel 9.11 ff.). Accordingly, the ideas of the older priestly group in regard to the character, authority, and purpose of the Torah—ideas which the Sadducees retained and continued to entertain even after the Pharisees argued against them—were the following: The Torah is a written document containing laws imposed by God upon Israel, and upon Israel alone, which Israel willingly or reluctantly accepted in order to secure the favour or to ward off the wrath of God, and to keep which the people by solemn oath pledged themselves and their children of all future generations. Transgression of any of these Laws contained in the Torah on the part of any Israelite must bring down the curse upon his head. Hence, whether they like it or not, whether they approve of these laws or not, whether they find them kind and just or cruel and harsh, the Israelites whose forefathers had accepted the Torah and pledged themselves and their children to keep it, must carry out its laws, else the curse stipulated in the oath taken by the fathers would come down upon them. But the Torah is not, and need not be, co-extensive with life. It need not be the sole guide of the Israelite for all situations in life, nor must it provide answers to all new questions which may possibly arise in life. For such situations as are not expressly provided for in the Torah, the Israelite may be guided by other rules, and he may and should find answers to new questions in authorities other than the Torah. What is necessary and of the utmost importance is merely that not one single law of the Torah be violated, that not one act prescribed or one obligation imposed by the Torah be neglected. These acts prescribed by the Torah and all the obligations imposed by its laws must be observed rigorously and carried out strictly according to the letter; i. e., according to the literal meaning of the words of the Torah, as the people who accepted it and who entered the covenant understood it. Under the terms of that covenant and according to the oath, then taken, the Israelite merely had to fulfill the laws of the Torah without adding anything to them or subtracting aught from them. He had to do what the document—i. e., the letter of the law—called for, no matter how harsh and cruel and unjust it may have seemed to him. But more than the document called for, more than the letter of the law explicitly required, he was not bound to do; i. e., he was not obliged to do under the terms of the covenant. For no oath had ever been taken by the fathers to keep more than the letter of the Law and, therefore, no curse would or could befall him who fails to do more. Hence, the Sadducees, who retained these ideas, insisted upon a strictly literal interpretation of the written Torah but denied absolute authority and binding character to any law which was not expressly stated in the written Torah no matter by what reliable tradition it may have been vouched for. Because, since such laws were not contained in the written document which the forefathers had pledged themselves by oath to carry out and fulfill, they could not share in that authority and in the binding character which the laws written in the Torah derived just from that oath. The Sadducees did not deny the existence of these old traditional laws, for how could they?—they themselves as the conservative priests were the possessors and transmittors of the old traditions of the fathers. Nor did they reject such traditional laws as spurious, or as without any authority at all, for they did recognize the right and the authority of former priests and teachers to enact rules and regulations necessary for such questions in life as find no explicit answer in the written Torah. They even claimed for themselves, as priestly leaders, the right and the authority to issue decrees and enact laws supplementary to, or altogether independent of, those in the written Torah. But they refused to regard such traditional laws as of absolute authority, and as equal to the laws contained in the written Torah. For the latter, they maintained, the forefathers had accepted by covenant and had pledged themselves and their descendants to keep for all time. And, according to their way of thinking, there was no way of freeing themselves from the obligation of that oath. But the traditional laws the people never accepted in a formal covenant and never pledged themselves by oath to keep. These traditional laws and practices were observed by the people merely in submission to the ruling authorities, and following the instructions of the priest and leaders who in their time, and no doubt for good reasons, had seen fit to institute such laws or to introduce such customs. It, therefore, rested with the priestly leaders of the time to decide whether these traditional laws and customs, instituted by their predecessors, should be continued to be observed or not. In this way only did the Sadducees deny the compulsory character of the traditional laws. And this is probably what Josephus means when he says that the Sadducees rejected the unwritten laws, saying: "We are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers"

(Antiquities XIII, 10.6); i. e., we are not absolutely obliged to observe them as we are obliged to observe the written laws.[24]

The Pharisees, or those lay teachers who were the forerunners of the Pharisees, entertained entirely different ideas as to the character, authority and purpose of the Torah, but they did not tell us how they developed these ideas and how they came to form their new conception of the Torah. They did not even formulate for us their theories on the subject. We do not find in their disputes with their opponents any direct argument against the latter's primitive notions. Nor does the Talmudic literature which has preserved their teachings contain any express statement as to why or on what ground the Pharisees rejected their opponents' views on this subject and what their own different conception of it was. Of course, we are not in a position to state with certainty the reasons for their reticence or for the silence of the sources on these questions, so interesting to us. Perhaps, neither the Pharisees themselves nor their followers, the talmudic reporters, were interested in the genesis of these ideas; hence, they did not care to report about it. It is also possible that they were so convinced of the correctness of their ideas and considered them so self-evident that they were unaware of any newness in them. They could well believe that these ideas had always been held by all right thinking people in the past, and that no change or development had taken place in their conceptions. Therefore, there was nothing new in regard to this to report about. Their opponents' notions were to them so utterly false and inadequate that they looked upon them as mere aberrations and misunderstandings, hardly worth while reporting about and certainly not deserving formal refutation. But in their teachings they sought to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of such misunderstandings. They interpreted the Law in such a manner as to counteract the mistakes and oppose the erroneous conception of the Torah held by their opponents. It is from the manner in which they interpreted some of the Laws of the Torah, from the emphasis they lay on certain aspects of the Torah, from their general negative attitude towards primitive beliefs and superstitions, from occasional hints they let drop in their disputes, and especially from the lofty praises and the glorification of the Torah found in Psalm 19 and 119, which, if not conceived and written by the forerunners of the Pharisees, were certainly accepted and heartily endorsed by them[25]—it is from these that we can get an adequate picture of their ideas about the Torah and can reconstruct their doctrines as to its character, authority and purpose. Judging from all these indications, we find, in the first place, that, being averse to primitive beliefs and superstitions, the Pharisees would be disinclined to share in that superstitious belief in the magic power of the oath and in the automatic functioning of the curse stipulated in the oath. Especially did they refuse to make the authority of the Torah rest upon such a superstition, and to make the binding character of its laws for all generations depend merely on the threatening effects of the curse stipulated in the oath with which the people accepted and promised to keep the laws. They believed that the authoritative character of the Torah was not something bestowed upon it from without, awarded it by an assembly or secured by an oath or covenant. In their belief this authoritative character was something inherent in the Torah itself. The Divine origin of the Torah was to them sufficient reason for man to obey it. It is authoritative because it is Divine and not because of any obligation assumed by the fathers or of any promise made by them to observe it.

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[24] See *The Sadducees and Pharisees* op. cit. p. 183–186.

For the Torah is not a group of laws and commandments imposed by a ruler upon his subjects for purposes of his own, which they in submission to him must obey and carry out, just as they discharge other obligations they owe him. For God derives no benefit from man's obeying the Law nor is He affected by man's violating the Law.[26] The Torah is not for the benefit of God; it is for the benefit of man. It is the Law of truth which God in His lovingkindness revealed to man to serve him as a guide for life, to lead him in the right path and help him live a good life, a godlike life, and thus come nearer to God. And this guide which God vouchsafed to man is a most reliable guide, for it is a perfect Law, its precepts are right, its ordinances are true and righteous altogether (Ps. 19). It is complete and comprehensive and man needs no other laws or authorities for the regulation of his life or for new situations in life. The Divine Law is sufficient for all times for all people and for all possible conditions in life. For, the Torah was not intended for Israel alone, or for Palestine alone, or for a certain period of time and for certain conditions only. It was intended as an eternal law for all mankind. Israel, "the first born son of God" (Exod. 4.22), as it were, i. e. the first one to recognize His fatherhood, received the Torah first, not in order to keep it for himself as an exclusive possession, but to teach it to his younger brothers, to all nations. It was intended for all times and for all conditions; it must, therefore, contain answers to all questions of life. It is sufficient to control and regulate our entire life in all possible situations, if only we understand it aright and interpret it correctly. For, as a Divine and a most perfect Law, it is not to be understood only according to the literal meaning of its words. It must not be treated like a human document. "Our perfect Torah," says a Pharisaic leader, "is not to be considered like your idle talk,"[27] that is to say, it must not be interpreted like a man-made code of laws. We must apply to it other and higher standards of interpretation. For, its words have deeper meanings and subtler connotations.

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[25] Comp. Herford op. cit. p. 65.

[26] See Gen. r. XLIV, 1 and Tanḥ. Buber Shemini 12 (p. 30); and comp. Lauterbach, *The Ethics of the Halakah* (1913) p. 12, note 13.

The Pharisees also believed that one must use his God-given reason in interpreting the Torah. Josephus tells us, that the Pharisees "follow the contract of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice" (Ant. XVIII, 1.3). In other words, they believed it was their duty to listen to reason. The soul within us, so the Pharisees believed, is "the portion of God from above" (Job 31.2), a spark of His light. "It is a spirit in man, and the breath of the Almighty that giveth them understanding" (ibid. 32.8). Our reason, the gift of God, "the spirit which is the lamp of the Lord" (Proverbs 20.27) and our conscience, the voice of God within us, also tell us what is right and what is wrong. They are but other channels through which truth is revealed to us by God. And truth is one even when revealed through different channels; hence, the laws of the Torah must meet with the approval of our reason and our conscience. In other words, we must so interpret the laws of the Torah that they should harmonize with the truth obtained by our God-given reason. Furthermore, God is still continuously revealing Himself to us. And while He will never change His Law, and indeed He has no reason for doing so, since it contains the absolute truth, yet He guides us in our deliberations, reveals to us the secrets of His Law, thus helping us to get at its correct meaning. For God is present among those who study the Torah (M. Abot III, 7).[28] Hence, the Pharisees interpreted the Law according to its spirit and ignored its letter when reason and human conscience were against it. Thus, to give the classic example, the law "an eye for an eye" etc. (Exod. 21.24–25), which, if taken literally, as the Sadducees took it, outrages the human conscience, is cruel and against reason, the Pharisees interpreted as meaning to prescribe *compensation* and not *retaliation*. They did so, because their conscience had developed and broadened and their ideas of punishment became more humane. It was, therefore, to them inconceivable that the Divine Law, that perfect Law of truth and righteousness, could ever have decreed or sanctioned such cruel measures of punishment. They could not believe that these laws were ever meant to be taken literally. In good faith and firmly convinced of the correctness of their understanding of the Law, they accordingly interpreted it to prescribe merely monetary compensation. Such a method, of course, makes of the Torah an ever growing, ever unfolding revelation, capable of developing and assimilating new truths and of always being in harmony with reason.

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[27] B. B. 116a and see *The Sadducees and Pharisees* p. 192, and comp also Moore, *Judaism*, I, p. 248–49.

Just as the Torah cannot contradict reason, that other form of inspiration that continually comes to us from the source of truth, and just as it cannot conflict with the dictates of our conscience which is the voice of God within us, so also must the Torah not conflict with Divine truth coming through other channels. It must be in agreement with the voice of God heard through the prophets or recorded in the sacred writings of the inspired sages and seers, with the דברי קבלה, the words of Tradition, as the non-pentateuchal works of the Bible are called, being originally considered as mere tradition.[29] Since the Torah is not just a group of laws imposed upon Israel, but Divine truth revealed to man, it cannot conflict with other expressions of Divine truth as recorded int he other sacred writings. For, God is not a man that He should in one utterance belie what He said in another. Neither the son of man that He should repent and change His mind, so as to utter other truths and contradict Himself. This idea makes the Torah extend beyond the five books of Moses. It comprises all the sacred writings of accredited inspired seers and prophets, i. e., the whole Bible. Of course, it took some time till the distinction between the Pentateuch and the other Biblical works or between *Dibre Torah* and *Dibre Ḳabalah* entirely disappeared. Echoes of this distinction, based upon the primitive notion that the Torah derives its authority from the oath and the covenant, which the other sacred writings cannot claim, are still to be found in the Talmud.[30] But the

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[28] The idea that God helps one to arrive at the truth and to understand the Torah is common among the Rabbis and finds frequent expression in the Jewish liturgy.

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[29] The fact, that the non-pentateuchal works of the Bible were considered as mere traditions (דברי קבלה) was probably responsible for the mistake made by some of the church fathers (Origines and Hieronymus; see E. Schürer op. cit. II p. 480–481; comp. also Pseudo-Tertullian, *Against All Heresies*, ch. I), in assuming that the Sadducees, like the Samaritans, recognized only the Pentateuch as sacred Scripture. Comp. K. Budde, *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments* (Giessen 1900) p. 42–43, and Moore op. cit. 68.

[30] In the Talmud are found conflicting statements as to whether דברי קבלה are to be regarded as like דברי תורה or not; see Bacher, *Die Exegetische Terminologie der Jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* I (Leipzig 1899) p. 166. Significantly enough, the later Amoraim, especially R. Ashi, consider the דברי קבלה to be like דברי תורה (R. H. 19a, comp. also Sukkah 32b). It seems to me that this recognition of the authority of the non-pentateuchal books of the Bible was the result of a gradual realization on the part of the teachers, that a strict distinction between the various books of the Bible was incompatible with the belief that the entire Bible was of Divine origin. Comp., however, R. Hirsch Chajes in *Sefer Torat Nebiim* (Zolkiew 1836) מאמר תורת נביאים או דברי קבלה . The result was that not only the teachings derived from the non-pentateuchal books of the Bible were considered like דברי תורה but even such traditional teachings as had no basis whatever in any passage of the Bible were also designated as דבר תורה. (Comp. R. Hirsch Chajes op. cit.

Pharisees, already at a very early time conceived the idea of including in the Torah the teachings of the prophets and of the other sacred writings. They had to do so as a matter of logical consistency, for, to their way of thinking, there was no reason to make any distinction between one revelation and the other. The Torah, to them, had its authority not because of the oath taken by the people but because of its being revealed truth, the word of God, and the teachings of the prophets also were the words of God. Of course, the Torah of Moses represents the earliest and most comprehensive revelation, aiming at regulating human conduct. The prophet, therefore, cannot make new laws in opposition to the Torah.[31] He does, however, explain and supplement the laws of the Torah,[32] and the Torah must be so interpreted as to accord with the prophetic teachings. The Pharisees would, therefore, often use both the help of reason, dictating higher ideas and broader principles, and the words of the prophets revealing spiritual concepts and Divine truth, for supports and guides in interpreting the Law, thus making it expressive of more advanced religious ideas and spiritual truths. One or two instances will illustrate this point. We have seen that, according to the Pharisees, the Torah was revealed to man for his guidance and his benefit, and does not represent a group of laws just imposed upon him. Accordingly, the Sabbath, as one of the institutions of the Torah, was given to man so that he may enjoy his rest and delight in it, but man was not given to the Sabbath to be a slave to it and suffer inconveniences. To use the older expression of the Pharisaic teachers: "The Sabbath is given to you and you are not given to the Sabbath" (Mekilta, Sabbata I, Friedmann

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מאמר תורה שבעל פה, especially p. 25–26.) This was but the logical consequence of the belief that the traditional law, the תורה שבעל פה also goes back to Moses and was of Divine origin. See below note 39.

[31] Comp. Sanhedrin 90a, Horayot 4b.

[32] Comp. Bacher, op. cit. I, p. 154–155. Hence later teachers could say: דבר זה מתורת משה לא למדנו מדברי יחזקאל הנביא למדנו (Yoma 71b. Comp. also R. H. 7a). In spite of the fact that an older principle had declared that no prophet was allowed to inaugurate new laws אלה המצות שאין הנביא רשאי לחדש דבר מעתה (Megillah 2b). See the explanations of this apparent contradiction offered in Yoma 71b and 80a and comp. R. Hirsch Chjaes מאמר אלה המצות ch. I, op. cit.

103b). This idea of the purpose of the Sabbath the Pharisees found expressed in the words of the prophet: "And call the Sabbath a delight . . . then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord" (Isa. 58.13–14). They accordingly could not understand the law in Exod. 35.3 to mean: "Ye shall burn no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath day," as it was understood by other Jewish sects, like the Samaritans and even the Karaites up to the fourteenth century. For, so the Pharisees reasoned, how could the Sabbath be called a delight if one is to be deprived on it of the comforts of light and heat? They refused to consider the Sabbath a Tabu day to be spent in gloom and cold and darkness. They, therefore, interpreted the law in Exodus 35.3 to mean, "Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath day," i. e., you shall not do the arduous work of building a fire or producing light on the Sabbath day. You may, however, nay you should, have in your homes fire and light, so very necessary for your comfort and pleasure, on the Sabbath day; only let the work of preparing it be done before the Sabbath.[33] They even considered it a religious duty and insisted that for the proper observance of the Sabbath it is indispensable to have lights in the home on Friday night, so as to make the home cheerful and the Sabbath a delight. This Pharisaic institution is still observed in Jewish homes. When performing the ceremony of lighting the candles on Friday night, a benediction is recited thanking God for having sanctified us by His commandments and commanded us to kindle the Sabbath light. For, according to Pharisaic teachings, God did command us to have lights in the homes on the Sabbath even though no such commandment is explicitly mentioned in the Torah. He implied it in His commandment, "Observe the Sabbath day" (Deut. 5.12), for this is a proper form of observing the Sabbath.[34] He commanded it to us through His prophet when he said, "Call the Sabbath a delight," which means to have the home cheerful and bright and not cold, dark and gloomy. Guided by the same principle that the Sabbath is given for man's pleasure, they interpreted another Sabbath law in such a manner as to remove from the Sabbath the character of a Tabu day and teach us an advanced idea of the religious observance of the day. The law: "Abide ye every man in his place, let no one go out of his place on the seventh day" (Exod. 16.29) was interpreted by some sects to mean, that one should not budge from his place and not be allowed to leave the house. This again gives the Sabbath the character of a Tabu day or an unlucky day.[35] The Pharisees, denying that the Sabbath was of such a character, interpreted this law to mean, that one should not leave the town or the village where he dwells,—taking the word "his place" in a broader sense to mean town or village,—and go on a distant journey,[36] and also that one should not go out of the house carrying burdens on the Sabbath day. They learned from Jeremiah 17.12ff. that the proper observance of the Sabbath was to refrain from bearing any burdens or carrying forth burdens out of the house. But without carrying any burdens, the Pharisees taught, one may leave the house and take a pleasurable walk even outside of the city or the village, provided it is not too long a distance. For this would be a tiresome effort and no longer a pleasure, hence not in keeping with the spirit of the day.

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[33] Comp. the saying of the Mekilta ביום השבת אי אתה מבעיר אבל אתה מבעיר מערב שבת לשבת. According to the reading of the Yalkuṭ to Exod. 35.3.

[34] Comp. b. Sabbat 23a as to the justification for the recital of the benediction over the lighting of the Chanukah lights. The same reasons, of course, hold good in the case of the benediction over the Sabbath lights.

It was probably the same consideration, viz., to remove from the Sabbath the character of a Tabu day, and to dissociate it entirely from any connection with Saturn, that determined them in their interpretation of the term "Sabbath" in Levit. 23.11 and 15.[37] In seeking to emphasize the idea that the Sabbath was merely a day given for rest and pleasure and that it has nothing to do with Saturn or with other astrological superstitions, they argued that "Sabbath" designates also any other prescribed day of rest even if it be not the seventh day of the week. Every Holiday in which one is to rest from labor is called a Sabbath. They, therefore, interpreted "the morrow after the Sabbath" (Levit. 23.11 and 15) to mean simply, the morrow after the day of rest, that is, after the first day of the Passover festival, or the 16th of the month of Nisan. According to this interpretation, Pentecost which comes 49 days or seven weeks after that, "morrow after the Sabbath," could fall on any day of the week. Their opponents, the Sadducees, as is well known, took the phrase, "the morrow after the Sabbath" literally to mean, the morrow after the seventh day of the week, with the result that they would have Pentecost always fall on a Sunday as the church also has it.

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[35] See Hutton Webster, *Rest Days* (New York 1916) p. 257 and note.

[36] Mekilta, Vayassa V (Friedmann 51a), 'Erubin 51a.

[37] See Menaḥot 64b–66a. It is true that the oldest express reference to an identification of the Jewish Sabbath with Saturn's day dates only from the first pre-Christian century. (Comp. Hutton Webster op. cit. p. 243ff.). But no doubt the idea is much older and the Pharisees sought to combat it. According to Yalḳuṭ Reubeni to Jitro (Warsaw 1901) p. 108, many of the ceremonies and regulations prescribed for the Sabbath were directed against the practices of those people who believed the Sabbath to be Saturn's day on which they could, by means of certain observances, derive power from Saturn. That the Pharisees were correct in denying that the observance of the Sabbath had any

As in their views about the character, authority, and purpose of the Torah, so also in their attitude towards the authority of tradition and the binding character of the traditional laws, the two parties differed radically. Josephus in the passage already quoted above tells us that "the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the Laws of Moses, and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things, it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them" (Antiquit. XIII, 10.6). For the Sadducees did not "regard the

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connection with the worship of Saturn, is now admitted by most modern scholars (see Hutton Webster l. c. and comp. A. Büchler, Graeco-Roman Criticisms of Some Jewish Observances and Beliefs, in *The Jewish Review* I [London 1910] p. 140–143). But, in spite of this protest of the Pharisees against the identification of the Sabbath with Saturn's day, the idea of such a connection between the two lingered on even in Jewish circles and echoes of it are found in medieval Jewish works. Comp. Abraham Ibn Ezra as quoted by the super-commentary on Ibn Ezra, Motot, to Exod. XXIII, 20 in מרגליות טובה (Amsterdam 1722) p. 73b and also the super-commentary אהל יוסף (ibid l. c.). Comp. also S. Rubin op. cit. p. 90–91.

observation of anything besides what the Law enjoins them" (ibid. XVIII, 1.4). These reports of Josephus are confirmed by statements in the Talmud.[38] This fundamental difference between the two parties presents the anomalous phenomenon, that the older conservative priestly party is opposed to the authority of tradition and denies the binding character of the traditional law, while the younger progressive liberal party of democratic lay teachers advocates the authority of tradition, and considers the traditional laws as binding upon the people and as of authority equal with those of the written Torah. This apparent anomaly in the respective positions of the two parties with regard to the authority of Tradition, is partly responsible for the historical error made by so many people of considering the Pharisees the older party, and regarding the Sadducees as the younger group, the heretical sect. But in the light of our discussion the different attitudes taken by the two parties towards the traditional laws are found to be consistent with their respective views about the nature of the authority of the written Torah.

We have already seen that the Sadducees' rejection of the authority of the traditional law was but the logical consequence, the direct outcome, of their narrow views on the written Law. The authority of the latter, according to them, rests entirely upon the oath by which the people pledged themselves to it. And since no oath was ever taken to keep the traditional laws, they cannot have the same authority and binding character as the laws of the written Torah. Likewise, the Pharisees' attitude towards tradition was also but the psychological result and the logical consequence of their loftier ideas about the written Torah. Their conception of the Torah as revealed Divine law supplemented and explained by the prophetic teachings and in complete accord with truth obtained from other sources or through other channels, naturally disposed them to consider the Traditions of the fathers an additional source of Divine truth. For, as we have seen, the Torah to them was not a burdensome obligation which one has to fulfill for fear of the penalty of the curse, and from which one would seek to free himself by a formal discharge of what the letter absolutely required. It was to them a source of joy and assurance, restoring the soul, enlightening the eyes and rejoicing the heart. It was a Divine guide to lead them through life, to help them and advise them. They loved the Torah, enjoyed its commandments, and rejoiced in the fulfillments of its laws. With the Psalmist they would say: "Yea, Thy testimonies are my delight. They are my counsellors" (Ps. 119.24). They would naturally be disposed to welcome more such guides, more direction, and more counsel. They appreciated the great favour God had shown His people in giving them the Torah, and they believed that God gave them much more than was written in the Torah. Perhaps quite unconsciously they felt the need of emphasizing the authority of tradition, if only to dispute the exclusive authority of their opponents. For the written Torah actually favors the priestly authorities, no matter how liberally you interpret it. But if the traditions of the fathers had preserved laws given by God to Moses and handed down to the teachers by words of mouth, the authority of these lay-teachers would be established as equal with that of the priests. The Pharisees would, therefore, not limit God's revelation and teachings to the written Torah alone. As one of their followers expressed it: "God desired to ennoble and benefit Israel, therefore He multiplied for them Torah and commandments" (M. Makkot III, 16 end), that is, He gave them more than just the written Torah. And that "more," they believed, was contained in the Traditions of the fathers. Now, they had already, as we have seen, included in the term Torah the words of the prophets and the sacred writings, which were actually called *Dibre Ḳabbalah*, "Words of Tradition." Why, then, could not the oral traditions of the fathers likewise be regarded as authoritative teachings, explaining and supplementing the laws of the Torah? What reason could there be for making distinctions between "Words of Tradition" embodied in the books of the prophets or other sacred writings, and "Words of Tradition" preserved among the people in unwritten form?

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[38] Comp. Horayot 4ab, Sanhedrin 90b.

Not only could the Pharisees see no reason to discriminate against such traditions but they even had very good reasons, logical as well as psychological, to favor them and consider them part of the Divine Torah handed down by word of mouth. The Pharisees, as already hinted, were most likely unaware of their radical departure from the older views. They believed their ideas of the Torah to be correct and that their fathers before them had the same ideas of the Torah. To the Pharisees, the Torah was the sole authority for regulating the life of the people. To their way of thinking, their forefathers must have had the same ideas and also considered the Torah alone as their authority. How then, so the Pharisees must have asked themselves, are all these laws, customs and practices, observed by the people, even though not written in the Torah, to be regarded? To reject these popular customs and practices as being without authority was impossible. Some of these traditional laws and practices were considered by the people as religious laws and observances, too highly respected, to be declared as having been introduced without any real authority. To say, as their opponents the Sadducees did, that these laws and customs were merely temporary regulations, enacted by the leaders of the time, without any connection with the Torah, and, therefore, without its binding authority, would have meant to admit that the life of the people was not controlled exclusively by the authority of the Torah. It would have meant to abandon their fundamental principle that the Torah is, and always was, the only authority for regulating the entire life of the people. It would also have reflected on the completeness and the all-sufficiency of the Torah. If the Torah was meant to be a reliable guide and a faithful help in all situations in life, if its laws were perfect and answering all needs, how was it that it could not and did not supply all the needs of the people, so that the latter had to enact other temporary laws for the regulation of their life? Would not that prove or support the contention of their opponents, that the Torah merely represents a group of laws imposed upon the people which must be strictly carried out to satisfy the demand of the Deity but need not be coextensive with life? Would it not prove the Sadducean claim that for life with all its needs and all new situations the people should be guided by other authorities? And, of course, these other authorities should be the priests, since the written Torah threatens with punishment of death those who would refuse to listen to the authority of the priests. "And the man that doeth presumptuously, in not hearkening unto the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die" (Deut. 17.12).

The only satisfactory answer the Pharisees could give to this vexing question was that all these laws and customs handed down by the fathers and regarded by the people as religious laws and observances, indeed had the same authority as the laws of the Torah and that they derived their authority from the Torah even though not found expressly stated therein. Thus, the Pharisees were led to believe, and they believed it in good faith, that these laws were not regulations enacted by former priests and leaders on their own authority, separate from and independent of the Torah. For, in their opinion these former priests and leaders had no such authority of their own, they had authority only as interpreters of the Torah. And the fathers would not have preserved these laws and customs and would not have regarded them as religious, had they been enacted by an authority other than or independent of the Torah. For, the fathers also had always considered the Torah alone as their only guide and sole authority for their religious life. These laws and customs which the fathers have preserved in their traditions and handed down to their children alongside of the laws of the Torah, were also laws of the Torah, that is, they were interpretations, amplifications, or special applications of certain laws of the Torah. As such, they are implied in, and share the authority of, the laws of the Torah. Even in cases where no such connection with the written Torah could be established, these traditions of the fathers, the Pharisees persuaded themselves to believe, represented additional and supplementary laws of the Torah. They were teachings given by God to Moses on Sinai, together with the written Torah, a sort of companion to it, and handed down from generation to generation in unwritten form as הלכה למשה מסיני, Traditions handed down from Moses on Sinai.

Thus the belief in an oral Law, a *Torah she-be-al peh*, was developed among the Pharisees. It was a naive, but an honest, belief on their part. They could not escape it; they were led to it by what to them seemed logical reasoning. Their very belief in the absolute authority and in the all-sufficiency of the Torah forced them to believe also in the authority of tradition, but tradition as identical with or as an integral part of the Torah. The Torah which God gave to Moses was really two-fold, a written one תורה שבכתב and an oral one תורה שבעל פה. In short, not all the laws and teachings revealed by God to Moses were committed by him to writing.[39]

Of course, the Pharisees did not blindly accept as authoritative all the traditions current among the people, just as they did not include in their canon of Sacred Scripture all the alleged works of inspired seers current in their times. They no doubt were guided by certain criteria in distinguishing the genuine from the spurious. And in the final analysis it was reason that determined the selection. And their broadening conscience which made them interpret the law according to the spirit would also lead them to rationalize some traditional teachings and customs.

This recognition of the authority of tradition as part of the Torah, not only did not hinder but even furthered and helped the progressive tendencies of the Pharisees, for it helped to liberate them from the fetters of the letter of the law. With all their submission to the authority of the Law, the Pharisees did not become the slaves of the Law; they were its masters. And with all their respect for tradition they did not become reactionary but progressive and forward looking. The Torah could be so interpreted as to contain what the teachers read into it, but nothing of which they could not approve. And the Traditions of the fathers, insofar as they contained Divine truths, had to agree with the ever growing and ever unfolding conscience of the people.

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[39] Thus the theory of a dual Torah, one written תורה שבכתב and one oral תורה שבעל פה, was formulated. The first express reference to the two תורות is ascribed to Hillel (Sabbat, 31a). A more explicit statement about these two Torahs, that they both were given from heaven, is found in Midrash Tannaim to Deut. (Berlin 1909) p. 215 in the name of R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai (the parallel in Sifre Deut. 351 has Rabban Gamaliel). To the argument of the opponent, that the singular form ותורתך (Deut. 33.10) points to only one Torah, R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai answers אעפ״י כן שתים שנאמר ותורת[ך] לישראל: Even if so, two Torahs are indicated since it says: And Thy Torah to Israel "meaning besides the one Torah referred to in the preceding sentence: "They shall teach Jacob Thine ordinances" יורו משפטיך ליעקב, they will also teach "Israel Thy other Torah." This seems to me the correct interpretation of the Midrash. A different explanation is given by Hoffmann (ibid. note 100) following the copyist who put a dot over the Resh, suggesting that the word is to be read *Toroth*, in the plural form.

Their position was reached by the Pharisees not by a conscious effort at rationalization and harmonization, but by an almost unconscious psychological effort. In their admiration for the Divine Law and Traditions they could not imagine that the Torah could contain anything which they could not fully approve of, or that genuine Tradition could teach any belief to which they could not whole-heartedly subscribe. Hence, any law of the Torah which their broadened conscience could not accept literally had to be so interpreted as to be given a new and more acceptable meaning. And any belief found among the current traditions which they, because of their advanced way of thinking, could not accept was regarded as superstition and as representing a spurious tradition. For the Divine Torah, the written as well as the unwritten, is truth. It cannot teach anything that outrages the human conscience or does violence to human reasoning. Its teachings must meet with the full approval of the human conscience and reason.

We can thus sum up our discussion and answer all the questions about the attitude of the Pharisees to the Torah which we propounded in the beginning of this lecture: The Torah is the Divine revelation to man, contained in the five books of Moses, as supplemented and explained by the teachings of the prophets an dby other, unwritten, traditions of the fathers. Its authority is based upon the fact that it is Divine truth. It comes from God, the father of all, and is intended for all mankind. Its purpose is to ennoble man by guiding him in the right way of life. It is to be interpreted in the light of reason, another Divine gift to man, and in agreement with the ever growing and ever broadening human conscience.

How with this conception of the Torah the Pharisees developed their ideas of God, the giver of that Torah, and of Israel, the first recipient of that Torah, we shall discuss in the next lecture.

III

THE PHARISAIC IDEAS OF GOD AND ISRAEL

The Torah, as the Pharisees considered it, was not merely a group of laws imposed upon Israel, but Divine revelation vouchsafed to man for his own good, to guide him aright and help him live a perfect life. For a full and complete life man needs more than rules of conduct and laws prescribing or forbidding certain actions. He needs also directions for right thinking and instruction in true belief. Regarded by the Pharisees as a reliable and complete guide, the Torah had to supply also these needs, which are indispensable for a complete and full life. It must, therefore, teach true ideas about God, His relation to the universe in general and to mankind in particular, and about the nature of the relation of man to man as determined by his relation to God. The Pharisees, accordingly, considered the Torah as the highest authority both for theories and practices, for rules of right conduct as well as for true doctrines.

This, however, did not prevent them from broadening their ideas. Nor did it hinder them in developing new doctrines not expressly stated in the Torah. For, as we have seen, the Torah, to them, was Divine truth, and as such it could not conflict with other truths, also coming from God and preserved in other sources, or arrived at by human reason, also a gift of God. This conception of the Torah and the liberal methods of interpretation resulting from it enabled the Pharisees to develop their own advanced ideas of God and Israel, not only without coming into conflict with the teachings of the Torah, but even with the help of the Torah, i. e., by finding support for their new ideas in the very words of the Torah, which was recognized by them as the highest authority.

Since they did not follow the letter of the Law when it conflicted with reason or conscience, they found no great difficulty in harmonizing the teachings of the Torah with their advanced ideas, or, as they naively believed, in finding their ideas hinted at, suggested or implied in the words of the Torah. Such passages in the Torah as reflect primitive ideas about God and a narrow, particularistic conception of Israel they would not take strictly and literally. They would interpret them in such a manner as to be compatible with their own advanced ideas, and as not to be resented by their own reason and conscience. On the other hand, they would emphasize those expressions in the Torah that teach a high spiritual conception of God[40] and a liberal attitude towards humanity. They would lay great stress upon such passages as could be interpreted to give utterance to broader and more universalistic ideas and thus to make all mankind benefit by the Torah.

Whether and how they effected a complete harmonization of all those different ideas and apparent contradictions found in the Torah we have no means of ascertaining. And all for the simple reason that the Pharisees did not leave us any work or special treatise, setting forth all their beliefs and theological doctrines, giving their philosophical reasons and justifications, and citing the Scriptural proofs for them. We have no work on systematic theology by any of the Pharisaic teachers. Most likely the early Pharisaic teachers were not systematic theologians. They certainly were not philosophers, even though Josephus, to please his Gentile readers, sought to represent them as a philosophical sect (Ant. XVIII, 1.2), "Of kin to the sect of the Stoics" (Vita 2.). The Pharisees were not given to philosophic speculation. They did not use philosophical methods in their discussions nor would they cite philosophical arguments in support of their teachings. They had no reason and felt no need for doing so. They believed that in the Torah, supplemented by the teachings of the prophets and other traditions of the fathers, they possessed the Divine truth as revealed to their forefathers. To the study of this Torah they gave themselves completely and they meditated upon it day and night.[41] They sought to interpret it to the best of their understanding. It was because of their exclusive occupation with the Torah that they were esteemed most skillful in the exact explication of their laws (Josephus, Wars II, 8. 2) and "supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws" (Vita 37), able "to interpret the laws more accurately" (Wars I, 5. 2). And the statement of Josephus that the Pharisees "valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the laws of their fathers" (Ant. XVII, 2. 4) also shows that they themselves valued their interpretations of the Torah and their ability to derive from it their teachings[42] more than philosophical speculations. They were primarily teachers of religion, but religion as comprising the ethical and spiritual truths, the laws and the traditions of the fathers. And they were practical teachers, not given much to speculation and theorizing,[43] and perhaps not very systematic. At any rate, the records of their differences and their disputes with their opponents, and the reports which have preserved their discussions and teachings, do not give us a complete or systematic presentation of their theological doctrines. Hence, the great difficulty of getting a clear and orderly view of their body of beliefs and unity of ideas. We certainly cannot content ourselves merely with what is expressly and formally reported about their theological beliefs, such as the report about their belief in the freedom of the will and in the immortality of the soul. For, indeed, this is very little, and very incomplete at that. And, after all, these two beliefs are but aspects of their conception of God and His relation to man, but they are not the whole of it. It is their interpretation of certain passages in the Torah, their institution of a unique and spiritual form of Divine worship in the Synagogue, the manner in which they sought to regulate the Temple ritual and to modify some of its objectionable features, their mode of living, their relation to one another and to the people at large, their activity in spreading the true teachings of the Torah among the people, and their zeal in offering the Torah to all mankind—it is these that tell us about their conception of God. For, in all these activities and attitudes they were guided and prompted by their ideas of God and His relation to man.

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[40] Comp. the interpretation of the passage: "Ye shall not make with Me" etc. (Exod. 20.20) to mean, not to make any likeness or representation of God. (Mekilta, Baḥodesh X, Friedmann 72b).

[41] Comp. Menaḥot 99b which, however, must be understood as a protest against Greek philosophy only (חכמת יונית) but not against the study of the exact sciences, like astronomy and mathematics, with which one should occupy oneself. Comp. Sabbat 75a.

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[42] Comp. the saying: הפוך בה והפוך בה דכולא בה M. Abot V,22, which in Abot d. R. Natan version A ch. XII (Schechter 28a) is ascribed to Hillel.

[43] Comp. such sayings as ולא המדרש הוא העיקר אלא המעשה Abot 1, 17, and והכל לפי רוב המעשה ibid III,15.

That their God conception was based upon the teachings of the prophets goes without saying, since as a party they were opponents of the priests and followers of the prophets whose ideas they accepted and made their own. Thus, while no systematic work of Pharisaic theology has come down to us, the sources contain many expressions of their beliefs and furnish scattered bits of direct and indirect information about them. Upon these we must base our presentation of the Pharisees' conception of God and Israel. And, even though we may not be able to get a complete picture of their theology from all this scattered information, we shall at least be able to form a fairly adequate notion of their conception of God and of His relation to man.

From the prophets the Pharisees learned to think of God as a spiritual being, omnipotent and just, all-wise and all-knowing, all-merciful and like a father loving all His creatures. He is not to be pictured in any image and cannot be likened to any other being. He is not limited to any place but is omnipresent. He is in the heavens above and on the earth beneath. The whole earth is full of His glory, and there is no place in the whole universe where He cannot be found.[44] He rules the whole world with Justice and Kindness.[45] There is no other God besides Him, and no power can frustrate His plans. He is not subject to any weakness. All depend on Him, but He does not depend on anything outside Himself. He is not in need of anything and asks of man nothing for Himself. He asks of man only to walk in His ways, to do justly, and to love kindness. All the laws which He gave us are to direct and guide us in these right ways. And even when He chastises us, He does it with the love of a father for our own good: "And thou shalt consider in thy heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee" (Deut. 8.5). "Whatever God the merciful doeth is for the best" (Berakot 60b).

The Torah, as the Pharisees understood it, also taught this God-conception. None of the expressions in the Torah which seem to reflect a more primitive conception of God or speak of Him in anthropomorphic terms are, according to the Pharisees, to be taken literally. For the Torah is truth and it cannot be self-contradictory in its statements, nor can it conflict with the teachings of the prophets. How then is it possible to take literally such an expression as: "And they saw the God of Israel" (Exod. 24.10) when the Torah itself reports God as having said to Moses: "For man shall not see Me and live" (Exod. 33.20) and in another passage it says: "Ye heard the voice of words but ye saw no form" (Deut. 4.12)? And when it is said: "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested on the seventh day" (Exod. 20.11) it cannot, so the Pharisaic teachers argue, be taken literally to mean that God had labored six days and needed a rest on the seventh day. For the prophet has taught us that God never wearies: "Hast thou not known? Hast thou not heard that the everlasting God, the Lord, the creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?" (Isa. 40.28). And the Psalmist declared that merely "by the word of the Lord were the heavens made" (Ps. 33.6) and He did not have to labor. (Mekilta Baḥodesh 7, Friedmann 69b). How is it possible, ask the Pharisaic teachers, to take literally the passage: "And the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud" (Exod. 13.21) when God Himself has told us through the prophet (Jeremiah 23.24): "Do not I fill heaven and earth?" (Mek. Besh. II, Friedmann 25a)? All such expressions must, therefore, be taken not literally but figuratively. The Torah had to use human language and human turns of speech to give concrete expressions to abstract ideas, else human beings could not understand (Mek. Baḥodesh IV, 65a).

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[44] ללמדך שאין בארץ מקום פנוי מן השכינה Pesiḳta d. R. K. I (Buber 2b).

[45] ובטוב העולם נדון Abot III, 15. And והדין דין אמת (ibid III, 16).

That the Pharisees conceived God as the One whom no human being could fully comprehend is especially evident from the manner in which they would refer to Him. Whether and to what extent they were responsible for the prohibition against the pronounciation of the Tetragrammaton is hard to decide.[46] But this we do know, that, except in prayer and in the reading of the Scriptures, they avoided using even any of the other Biblical names of God. They apparently felt that no name could designate His essence or describe the totality of His being. While they interpreted even these Biblical names as merely describing His attributes, as for example, when they interpreted "Elohim" to mean the "*midat ha-din*", the Attribute of Justice, they nevertheless feared that the constant use of these names might lead to their being misunderstood and taken for actual proper names of God. They, therefore, referred to Him merely by using some of His attributes. They employed such designations of Him as describe His activity or His relation to the world and to man. Thus, when they had in mind His relation to the world, they would speak of Him as "the Possessor," or "the Creator of the World," "the Master of all works," "the Ruler of the Universe," "He by whose word the world came into being." To indicate His omnipotence, they would speak of Him as גבורה, "Might", the Almighty. To emphasize His Omnipresence, they would speak of Him as המקום, "The Place." For, He is the place of the world but not limited to it. The world finds a place and exists only in Him. But the world does not contain Him, for He is in the world and yet beyond it, He is immanent and transcendent. To emphasize that God is eternal, they would call Him חי עולמים, "The One who lives for ever" or חי וקים, "The Everlasting One". To express His relation to man, they would call him, the Father, the Father in Heaven, the Father of all that come into the world, the Lord of Mercy, or shorter, *raḥmana*, the Merciful One. To refer to His revealing Himself to man, or manifesting His presence in the world, they would speak of him as the Shekinah, שכינה, "Divine Presence", and *ruaḥ haḳodesh*, רוח הקדש, "Spirit of Holiness". The latter two, however, were never taken by the Pharisees or the Rabbis in a hypostatic sense. They never represented separate entities.[47] They were merely used like so many other designations descriptive of some aspects or attributes of God whom no man can fully comprehend.

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[46] See A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, (London 1927), p. 17ff.

Intimately connected with the conception of God are, of course, ideas of Divine Worship, that is, how one can properly serve Him. The activities of the Pharisees in this field, their efforts at regulating and modifying the service in the Temple, as well as their fostering in the Synagogue a unique institution of religious worship, outside of, and separate from, the Temple, were but the logical results of their advanced and spiritual God-conception. Once they believed with the prophets and found it also stated in the Torah (Numbers 14.21) that the whole earth is full of the glory of God, they necessarily had to believe also that "from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof, the Lord's name is to be praised" (Ps. 113.2), and that there is no place where God could not be found and reached in prayer. Hence, they concluded that God can and should be worshipped even away from the Temple and outside of Jerusalem. Again, they had learned from the prophets that the multitude of sacrifices is to no purpose unto God and that He delights not in the blood of bullocks or of lambs or of he-goats (Isa. 1.11); and that burnt-offerings are not acceptable to Him (Jeremiah 6.20). They, accordingly, reasoned: If the Lord has not "as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in hearkening to the voice of the Lord," and if, "to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (I Sam. 15.22), then a worship consisting not of bloody sacrifices but of prayer and study of God's Law must be not only as good as the Temple service, but even better and more acceptable to God. Hence, the Pharisees fostered the Synagogue. The Synagogue may be considered a Pharisaic institution. Not that the Pharisees first instituted or founded it, for, it must have been in existence long before the advent of the Pharisees. But they developed it and perfected it, raised it to high prominence and gave it an important and central place in the religious life of the people, so that it could rival, if not even surpass, the Temple. Here again the Pharisees merely developed an ancient prophetic idea and based on it a great religious institution. The Synagogue is much older than the party of the Pharisees, its origin probably goes back to the period of the Babylonian exile. We have seen how the people in the exile learned to appreciate the prophets' teaching that God is everywhere. Away from Jerusalem and deprived of a Temple, those who remained loyal to the God of their fathers were forced to content themselves with some kind or form of worship other than sacrifices. Ezekiel tells us that the elders of the people would come to him to inquire of God (Ezek. 14.1ff. and 20.1ff.). It is in these visits to the prophet, to inquire about God, that we have the germ of the Synagogue. When the people could no longer go to the priest to send through him their offerings to God, they came to the prophet to inquire for a message from God, and the prophet gave it to them. And then they may have come to the prophet again or met together elsewhere to consider the message, received from the prophet, to meditate upon the word of God, and to pray to Him. Such meetings with their simple form of worship continued among the people even in Palestine after the Temple was restored and the sacrificial cult reinstituted. No doubt, the forerunners of the Pharisees were among those who cherished this prophetic idea of a religious service without sacrifices and who would assemble in some places outside of the temple for the study of the Law and the prophets and for prayer and devotion.[48] But after the final breach between the two groups and the formation of the two parties, the Pharisees, in opposition to the priests who naturally favored the sacrificial cult and would have all religious service centered in the Temple, emphasized the value of these extra-Temple devotional meetings and assemblies for prayer and study. They found that even according to the Torah, as they understood it, a service without sacrifice and outside of the Temple at Jerusalem was at least as acceptable to God as the sacrifices in the Temple, if not even more so. They interpreted the commandment: "To love the Lord your God and to serve Him with all your heart and with all your soul" (Deut. 11.13) to mean, to serve Him with prayer and by studying His law. Certainly, so they argued, this cannot refer to the sacrificial cult, for into its service one cannot put his heart and soul. It can only mean service with prayer into which one can put his whole soul, and the service of studying the Torah which one can do with his whole heart. As David said (Ps. 141.2): 'Let my prayer be set forth as incense before Thee, the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice" (Sifre, Deut. 41, Friedmann 60a). Thus they developed the Synagogue service which consists of prayer and reading from the Scriptures. This was in line with their democratic tendencies and with their regard for the needs of the people at large which, Josephus tells us, characterized the Pharisees (Wars II, 8. 2). For this institution of the Synagogue service enabled the people to enjoy everywhere the benefits of their religion, to receive instruction in the Divine Torah, which restoreth the soul, and to pour out their hearts in prayer before their Father in heaven without having to go to the Temple at Jerusalem and without depending upon a priest of a hereditary class. Their very conception of the Torah, that it was intended as a guide for all men, for all times and for all places, forced the Pharisees to believe that the worship in the Synagogue was equal, if not superior, to the service of the Temple. For, certainly the Torah would not be a complete guide if it failed to provide directions for Divine worship, the means of communion with God, for all those who lived away from Jerusalem and far from the Temple. And the Torah certainly could not have meant that those people away from Jerusalem, who could not come to the Temple and yet wished to worship God, should worship Him by offering sacrifices to Him wherever they may be. For, it expressly forbids the offering of sacrifices to God outside of the one chosen place, understood to be Jerusalem: "Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest" (Deut. 12.13). But the Torah does not specify any particular place where prayer may be offered. On the contrary, it assures us that wherever a human being, a soul yearning for God, will call upon Him in prayer, He will hear him and bless him. For, so the Pharisees understood the passage (Exod. 20.21): "In every place where I cause my name to be mentioned I will come unto thee and bless thee" (Mekilta Baḥodesh XI, Friedmann 73b and parallels).

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[47] Comp. Marmorstein, op. cit. p. 99 and 103. The saying in Pesiḳta Rabbati (Friedmann 12a) merely means to express the idea that God caused the spirit of prophecy to come upon Jacob.

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[48] Daniel already performed a religious service consisting of prayer three times a day (Daniel 6.11–12). A religious service consisting of prayer is also presupposed or alluded to in Sirah 39.5–6. Comp. also Moore I, p. 41 note 2.

The Pharisees did not, however, draw the logical conclusion from these ideas about God, so as to oppose the sacrificial cult in the Temple altogether. They tolerated the Temple service but tried to regulate and spiritualize it. What caused them to compromise with the sacrificial cult we cannot tell with certainty.

There may have been many causes for their doing so. No doubt, however, the strongest factor which determined their attitude towards the sacrificial cult was the consideration that it is expressly provided for in the Torah. For the Torah does explicitly prescribe sacrifices and regulates the bringing of offerings. These laws about sacrifices, found in the Torah, are too numerous and too explicit to be explained away. And the Pharisees probably did not feel any urgent need for trying to explain away these laws or for objecting to their literal meaning. For these laws and the whole idea of sacrifices were not, in those days at least, regarded as contrary to reason; and they certainly did not outrage the conscience. Furthermore, the Pharisees had a good precedent for their tolerant position, in the attitude of their prototypes, the prophets, who in their time likewise tolerated the sacrificial cult as long as it did not lead to abuse and disregard of the ethical laws and the higher religious duties. Above all, the Pharisees could well believe that, since the Torah was given by God for the benefit of man, these laws about sacrifice also tended somehow to benefit man, else God would not have given them. Some of the followers of the Pharisees expressly state this opinion in regard to the dietary laws. They say: "What difference does it make to God whether one ritually slaughters an animal and eats it or sticks it and eats it, whether one eats clean or unclean food? All these laws were given only in order to discipline and ennoble man." (Tanḥuma B. Shemini 15b = 30, comp. Gen. r. 44. 1). The early Pharisees may have had the same ideas about the laws for sacrifices. They may have believed that these laws were given to man for some good purpose even though it is not apparent. They may help to train and discipline man, and to cultivate in him the habit of giving up things in obedience to a higher law. But the Pharisees insisted that the sacrifices are of no benefit to God. Like the Prophets, they would fight the sacrificial cult only when its practice would cause a misunderstanding of the religious teachings and would lead to false beliefs, or when it would be made the excuse for the neglect of higher moral duties. One of the Pharisaic teachers, seeking to denounce the idea that sacrifices are gifts to God, indeed makes the bold and sweeping statement, which reminds one of Jeremiah (7.21–22), that God never asked for sacrifices and does not want them. Citing the Psalmist in his support, this teacher says: "Lest you think that He wants your sacrifices because He is in need of food, Scripture says: 'If I were hungry I would not tell thee; for the world is Mine and the fullness thereof . . . Do I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats' (Ps. 50.12–13). I have not told you to offer sacrifices. Hence you cannot say: 'I will do His will so that He in turn may do my will.' It is not *My* desire that you sacrifice, it is your own desire to bring sacrifices. For thus it is said: 'When ye offer a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the Lord, ye offer it because of your own desire' (Lev. 19.5), i. e., because you like it and not because God likes it" (Menaḥot 110a). The other teachers contented themselves merely with insisting that the only value in the offering of sacrifices is the thought of God in the mind of those who offer them, their intention to bring a sacrifice in the name of God. Hence, they say, it makes no difference whether one offers much or little, if only his thoughts are directed to God (Menaḥot l. c., Sifra Vayiḳra IX, Weiss 9b).

This consideration was probably one of the reasons why the Pharisees favored and supported the popular ceremony of offering the water libation during the Feast of Tabernacles, to which the Sadducees or the one group of them, the Boethusians,[49] strongly objected. The latter objected to this ceremony chiefly because it is not expressly mentioned in the Torah, but probably also because they considered water an inadequate offering to God. The Pharisees believed this ceremony to be based on an old tradition (Sukkah 34a and parallels) which to them was as binding as the written law. As regards the appropriateness of the offering, in their opinion, it really could make no difference

[49] In the Talmudic literature the designations Boethusians and Sadducees are used interchangeably to designate the same party or sect. But it seems nevertheless that the Boethusians were a special group of the Sadducees, deriving their name from their leader Boethus. See L. Ginzberg, Boethusians, in *Jewish Encyclopedia* III, p. 285, and Schürer op. cit. II, p. 478–79. A fanciful theory about the Boethusians is advanced by R. Azariah de Rossi in his *Me'or 'Enayim* אמרי בינה III (Warsaw 1899) p. 78–79. According to his theory the Boethusians were identical with the Essenes, and the name ביתוסים is merely a contracted form of the two words בית ואיסיאי meaning the house of the Essenes.

whether wine or water be offered, since the main and only value of any of the sacrifices is the thought of God in the mind of the sacrificer; and in this case the people thought of God in connection with the performance of this ceremony. Here was a good opportunity of teaching the people that it is not a question of what you offer but in what spirit and with what intentions you offer.

The Pharisees not only sought to remove from the mind of the people the primitive notion that the sacrifices constituted gifts to God but also to combat the superstitious belief that there was any magic power inherent in the sacrifices or in some of the ceremonies connected with them.

In order to emphasize the idea that there is no magic power nor any intrinsic value in the ceremony of purification by the water of sprinkling prepared with the ashes from the red heifer, as prescribed in Numbers 19, one of the outstanding Pharisaic teachers said to his disciples: "By your life, the dead body does not defile nor can the water of sprinkling purify; the whole ceremony is but a decree of the King of Kings" (Pes. d. R. Kahana, Parah 40b).[50] In other words, ceremonies prescribed in the Torah were to be observed, according to the Pharisees, merely because they were believed to be prescribed by God. But when the ceremony tended to perpetuate a false belief or to lend support to a superstition, the Pharisees would fight it and abolish it or modify it.

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[50] The same teacher, R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai, also abolished the ordeal by drinking the bitter waters prescribed in the Law (Numbers 5.12–31) for the woman suspected of adultery (b. Sotah 47a). His reason for abolishing this ceremony was, according to the Mishnah, that he considered it unjust to have a double standard of morality, so that the women should be punished for an offence which the men may commit without fear of punishment. It seems to me, however, that this alleged reason based upon the prophetic condemnation of a double standard of morality (Hosea 4.14) was not the real reason, or at least not the sole reason for doing away with this ceremony. For, according to the Rabbis, the ceremony would anyhow be without effect in case the husband was not absolutely blameless and pure from sin מנוקה מעון (b. Sotah 47b). R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai probably wanted to do away with the superstitions and belief in magic, underlying the ceremony of bitter waters. The utterance of the prophet Hosea merely served as an excuse for the daring act of abolishing a pentateuchal law.

The best illustration of their activity in this direction is their fight against the manner in which the priests would perform the ceremony of offering the incense in the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. To sum up briefly what I have discussed elsewhere at greater length, the fight about the manner in which this ceremony should be performed was a fight between two God-conceptions. The Sadducees, holding to primitive notions about God, believed that God was really present in the Holy of Holies of the Temple, and that His presence could actually be seen there hovering between the two cherubim upon the Ark-cover, or, at a later time when the Ark was no longer there, on the spot where the Ark once stood. The entrance of the High priest into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement was, therefore, fraught with danger. For, if on entering he should, even if only involuntarily, look in the direction of the Ark-cover and see the Deity he would immediately die. As a precaution against this danger, the old practice of the priests was to put the incense upon the fiery coals on the censer, outside of the curtain which separated the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Temple, and, while the smoke of the incense arose, he would carry the censer with the smoking incense into the Holy of Holies and offer it there. The smoke coming up from the incense protected the High priest against the danger of seeing the Deity clearly face to face. It formed a sort of a screen through which he was allowed to see the Deity. For, "through the smoke of the incense God may be seen upon the Ark-cover," so the Sadducees understood Leviticus 16.2.[51]

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[51] See Lauterbach, A Significant Controversy Between The Sadducees and the Pharisees, in *Hebrew Union College Annual* IV (Cincinnati 1927) especially pp. 195 ff. Arnobius also alludes to the fact that the Sadducees gave form to the Deity. For he says: "And let no one bring up against us Jewish fables and those of the sect of the Sadducees, as though we, too, attribute to the Deity forms, for this is supposed to be taught in their writings" (*Against the Heathen*, Book III, ch. 12, in the edition of Ante-Nicene Fathers [New York 1899] vol. 6. p. 467). It is amusing to see how the editors and translators in their desire to find fault with the Pharisees, made the following remark: "It is evident that Arnobius here confuses the sceptical Sadducees with their opponents the Pharisees and the Talmudists" (ibid. note 3). But it is evident that the editors were confused while Arnobius was accurate and knew what he was saying.

The Pharisees, on the other hand, insisted that there was no visible manifestation of the Deity in the Holy of Holies. And, in order to teach the people that God has no form in which He could be seen by any human being, and that no semblance or representation of Him could be found or seen in the Holy of Holies, they enforced a modification of this ceremony. The High priest was not allowed to prepare the smoking incense outside of the curtain. He could not put the incense upon the fiery coals, thus producing a screen of smoke before he entered the Holy of Holies. He had to carry the censer with fiery coals in his right hand and the spoon full of incense in his left, and thus enter the Holy of Holies. And only after he had entered inside the curtain was he to put the incense upon the fiery coals on the censer and offer it there. The Pharisees thus reduced this offering of the incense in the Holy of Holies to a mere ritual like so many other ritual laws or ceremonies which are to be observed because they are prescribed in the Torah though the reason for them is not known. But they prevented this ceremony from being performed in such a manner as would suggest the false belief that God is actually present in the Holy of Holies, or that He could at all become visible to the High priest or to anyone else.

Perhaps the most effective means by which the Pharisees impressed upon the minds of the people the lesson that sacrifices were not the most acceptable form of worship was the institution of a Synagogue in the very precinct of the Temple, and the regulation that the priests hold there every day a religious service of the kind held in a Synagogue. By this institution a sort of a combination of the two forms of worship was effected by which the sacrificial cult was spiritualized as it were, and the idea that the value of the sacrifice consisted only in the thought of God which it elicited from the sacrificer was given emphatic

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He had a correct report as to the primitive God conception held by the Sadducees which permitted them to attribute corporeality to God and to make Him dwell in visible form in the Holy of Holies. Kirkisani also says, that the Sadducees believed in the corporeality of God and that they would take the anthropomorphic expressions of the Bible literally. Comp. A. Harkavy לקורות הכתות בישראל in S. P. Rabbinowitz's Hebrew translation of Graetz's *History*, vol. III (Warsaw 1893) p. 495.

support. It certainly put the Synagogue worship on a par with the sacrificial cult. This very fact makes likely the assumption that this institution was forced upon the priests by the Pharisees. But if it was not altogether an innovation introduced by the Pharisees after they got into power and obtained control of the Temple, either in the days of Queen Salome Alexandra or later on, it certainly was fostered and promoted by them. Surely, the Sadducees would not insist upon a daily Synagogue service to be held by the priests in the Temple. It is true that from Josephus' statement, that the Pharisees "are able greatly to persuade the body of the people, and whatsoever they do about Divine worship, prayers and sacrifices, they perform them according to their directions" (Ant. XVIII, 1. 3) it does not necessarily follow that the Sadducees denied prayer altogether. It may simply mean that the people followed the Pharisees and not the Sadducees in the manner of offering prayer or in the selection and arrangement of certain prayers. The Talmudic reports do not say anything about the Sadducean position on prayer. But from the emphasis which the Pharisaic teachers lay upon the importance of prayer and from their eagerness to interpret passages in the Torah as prescribing it,[52] it would seem that the Sadducees did not believe it obligatory or important. The Sadducees would naturally not favour a religious service, consisting of prayer and study alone, as this would tend to lessen the importance of the sacrifices and thereby weaken their own position as priests. Besides, this kind of service is nowhere expressly mentioned in the Torah, and they had, therefore, no reason to consider it obligatory upon them (cf. Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer*, p. 20–21). Not that they denied that prayer may prevail with God. This they could not do since there are instances in the Torah of prayer having prevailed with God. But, to their way of thinking, offering sacrifices and bringing gifts to Him were more effective methods of securing His favor. For, it was this kind of service, and not prayer, that He stipulated in the covenant and imposed upon Israel in the Torah. Furthermore, this very conception of the Torah made prayer rather superfluous for them. The Torah, to them, was not meant to be coextensive with life. It was a group of laws imposed upon Israel, with rewards promised for obeying it and punishment threatened for disobeying it. Accordingly, all that was necessary to ward off the wrath of God and to secure His continuous favor was merely to fulfill the imposed laws and especially to offer Him the prescribed sacrifices. As for human conduct and activities in general, the Sadducees seemed to have believed that God does not bother with man's affairs, nor does He care what the individual does. As Josephus puts it: "And for the Sadducees they take away fate and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good and receive what is evil from our own folly" (Ant. XIII, 5. 9). In other words, they did not believe in Divine Providence.[53] Of course, we have to discount Josephus' statement a little. We must not assume, that they denied that God could interfere in human affairs. What they seemed to have thought is that God does not care to bother with human affairs. The individual is left to his own resources. To the people as a group, He gives His protection if they fulfill His commands, just as He punishes them for violating the laws stipulated in His covenant. But in matters that are not prescribed nor prohibited by the Law, their conduct is left to themselves, to control their own affairs. And whatever happens to them is but of their own doing, the result of their wise or foolish actions. Surely, there is not much occasion nor reason for prayer when one believes that God does not take notice of all our affairs nor cares for all our needs.

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[52] Comp. L. Baeck, *Die Pharisäer* (Berlin 1927) pp. 44f. Whether these interpretations were taken strictly so as to make prayer obligtory according to biblical law מדאורייתא or not is a moot question. There are passages in the Talmud which expressly declare that prayer service is not obligatory by Biblical law, but is merely a rabbinical institution (e. g. Berakot 21a ותפלה דרבנן and Sukkah 38a). Comp. however, Maimonides in *Sefer haMizvot* commandment 5 (Warsaw 1903) p. 6, and Nachmanides ad. loc. and Hananiah Casis in קנאת סופרים ad loc.

The Pharisees who advocated a religious service consisting of prayer and who believed in the efficacy of prayer, did, indeed, believe that God takes cognizance of all our doings, and orders all human affairs, and that everything that happens in the world is ordained by Him. The Pharisees, Josephus tells us, "ascribe all to Providence and to God and yet allow that to act what is right or contrary is principally in the power of man; although fate does cooperate in every action" (Wars II, 8. 2). This is confirmed by talmudic reports. With the belief in Divine Providence and Divine Prescience the Pharisees combined the belief in the freedom of will, that is, that man has it in his power to choose between good and evil and determine whether he wants to live virtuously or wickedly. They did not "ascribe the practice of sinners to fortune and fate," as is erroneously stated in the Apostolic Constitutions (Book VI, ch. 6). Josephus in the passage just quoted expressly says, that they believed it to be in the power of man to act rightly or wrongly. And in Antiquities (XVIII, 1. 3) he likewise says: "And when they (the Pharisees) determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit" (comp. also Ant. XIII, 5. 9). This also is confirmed by talmudic reports of the followers of the Pharisees, who declare: "Everything is in the hands of God but the fear of God" (Berakot 33b), and although "everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given" (Abot III, 15). But they could not deny God the power of influencing man and determining his choice. This would be incompatible with the belief in His omnipotence. Besides, they knew many instances in the Torah where God did influence men's actions both for good and for evil. For God said to Abimelech: "Yea, I know that in the simplicity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also withheld thee from sinning against me (Gen. 20.6). And He also said: "And I will harden Pharao's heart" (Exod. 7.3). And it is said: "But the Lord hardened Pharao's heart and he did not let the children of Israel go" (Exod. 10.20). They knew these and numerous other passages from sacred Scriptures where the possibility of God's influencing man's choice of conduct is presupposed (comp. Sukkah 52b and parallels). They accordingly came to the conclusion that indeed God can, but does not desire to, determine man's choice of conduct. He wants man to choose for himself. However, He is ready to help man carry out his plan to do good, while on the other hand He refrains from hindering him when he chooses to do evil, thus passively at least, cooperating with him. This is what Josephus means, when he says: "Although fate does cooperate in every action" (Wars l. c.), that is, even in man's freely chosen actions, whether they are good or evil. As the Talmud more mildly puts it, "If a man chooses to do good the heavenly powers help him. If he chooses to do evil, they leave the way open to him" (Sabbat 104a). "In whatever way man desires to go the heavenly powers lead him" (Makkot 10b comp. Mekilta, Vayassa I, Friedmann 46ab and parallels). It is probably this idea which is expressed by Josephus when he attributes to the Pharisees the notion: "that it hath pleased God to make a temperament (?) whereby what he (He?) wills is done but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously"[54] (Ant. XVIII, 1. 3). Josephus is not quite clear in his phraseology. His statement probably means, that it is God's will that man do good; He implanted in man not only the impulse to do evil but also the inclination to do good, i. e., a temperament whereby man is led to do God's will but on his own initiative. This idea finds frequent expression in the talmudic literature.[55] Whether this is a satisfactory solution of the problem is not the question. We must remember, the Pharisees were not philosophers and probably did not stop to realize all the implications and philosophical difficulties of their naive solution. They were practical teachers of religion and for the purpose of teaching religion and right conduct it was a very practical, if naive, solution. God is omnipotent, nothing is impossible for Him, not even making man choose good or evil. God is also all-knowing and He certainly knows beforehand what choice man is going to make. But man must have freedom of will, if he is to be a moral being which God wants him to be. So God gave him the freedom of will, the power to choose between good and evil. He created him with two impulses, a good one and a bad one, advised him to do good and gave him the Torah as a guide to help him; but if with all this, man chooses evil God does not hinder him. In this manner the Pharisees solved, at least to their own satisfaction, the problem of how man has the power to do evil which is displeasing to God, and how man can be free to make a choice although his choice is foreknown by God. God gives man credit for choosing good, though He helps him in doing it, and holds him responsible for choosing evil, though He could have prevented it.

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[53] Comp. also Hippolytus, The Refutation of All Heresies (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. V N. Y. 1899) Book IX chs. XXIII and XXIV.

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[54] Comp. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, vol. IV (München) 1928, p. 344, and Moore op. cit. p. 457. The passage in Josephus is rather obscure. It may also mean to say that the Pharisees believed there is a prejudgment, determined by God, to let things be done in accordance with its decree, yet allowing man to follow good or evil. In other words, God has prejudged how man, according to his own choice, will act.

[55] Comp. Sifre Deut. 53, b. Ḳiddushin 30b, Sukkah 52ab.

The belief in man's responsibility for his conduct demands as a corollary the belief in Divine retribution. We have no record of any speculations on the part of the early Pharisees as to the vexing problem of why the righteous suffer and the wicked prosper. From the various discussions of this problem by later Pharisaic teachers, however, we may conclude that this problem occupied the minds of the early Pharisees also. At any rate, they solved the problem by postulating a belief in another life, a life after death.

According to Josephus, the Pharisees believed, "that souls have an immortal vigor in them, and that under the earth there will be reward and punishment according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life" (Ant. XVIII, 1. 3, cf. also Wars II, 8. 2). According to the Talmud and the New Testament, they believed in the resurrection of the dead. But whether the soul is immortal and continues to live in the beyond, or whether the dead are resurrected and come back to live here on earth, man's career is not ended with death and his existence is not limited to this present life. After this life here on earth there is another life in the future in which the belief in God's retributive justice will be vindicated.

This belief in another world thus makes possible the belief in Divine Justice and Divine Retribution in the face of all the apparent injustices that may be noticed in this world in the respective positions of the righteous and the wicked, and in spite of the many experiences which show that men do not get their deserts here on earth. Here again the Pharisees found a practical solution to a vexing problem which threatened to tempt man from virtue and cause him to abandon the pursuit of righteousness.

With the question as to the origin of this belief in a hereafter, whether it came from the Greeks or the Persians we are not concerned here. Perhaps we ought not to look to any foreign source for its origin. It may just as likely have been a home-grown product, having gradually developed out of primitive notions about the condition of the dead which had been prevalent in ancient Israel, and as a logical consequence of the belief in the Divine Justice. Certainly the Pharisees did not consider it a foreign belief. To them it was a genuine Jewish belief found in many passages of the Scriptures and indicated, or at least suggested, in the Torah itself.

It was probably due to their belief in another world that the Pharisees did not seek to get much out of this world and would not pursue its pleasures and material goods. For, as Josephus tells us, "they lived meanly, and despised delicacies in diet and they followed the contract of reason" (Ant. XVIII, 1. 3). And according to a talmudic report, their opponents would make fun of them, saying: "The Pharisees hold on to their traditional belief; accordingly, they deprive themselves of the pleasures of this world. But they will get nothing in that future world of theirs" (Abot d. R. Natan, Version A, ch. V, Schechter, p. 26).[56]

But if they did not seek the material pleasures of this world, they did not slacken their efforts to make it a better world to live in, a world in which the reign of God and His Law should prevail and men live together in peace and mutual goodwill. Their belief in another world did not make them otherworldly. For even more than with the salvation of the individual in the future life of another world were they concerned with the salvation of their people and of humanity, and with the future of this world when all mankind will join Israel in accepting the Torah and believing in the One God. To the attainment of this end the Pharisees devoted most of their thoughts and activities.

For the Pharisees believed in one humanity as they believed in one God. This was but the logical result and the necessary outcome of their whole struggle. They began by fighting the aristocratic priests and disputing the hereditary privileges of the latter as based merely on the accident of birth. They naturally had to end with the belief that Israel, likewise, cannot claim any hereditary privileges on account of mere birth. The distinction Israel has is due not to his birth but to his following the Torah, and any one who accepts the Torah is fully like him.

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[56] The following saying may be regarded as the Pharisees' answer to this taunt of the Sadducees: אמר להם משה לישראל אתם רואים את הרשעים שהם מצליחים בשנים ושלשה ימים הם מצליחים בעולם הזה וסופו לדחות באחרונה שנאמר כי לא תהיה אחרית לרע . . . ואתם רואים את הצדיקים כשהם מצטערים בעולם הזה בשנים ושלשה ימים מצטערים וסופן לשמוח באחרונה שנאמר להטיבך באחריתך Sifre Deut. 53 (Friedmann 86a).

They found this idea repeatedly stated in the Torah and the prophets. According to the Pharisees, all men are born equal. No man can claim to be of nobler birth than the other, nor can any race claim superiority over another. For all are descendent from one father and one mother, from Adam and Eve. This is the first and most important lesson of the Torah, taught in its opening chapter. Mankind, say the Pharisees, were made to descend from one father, so that no one should be able to say to another, "My father was greater than yours" (M. Sanhedrin IV, 5). Human creatures should, therefore, live in peace together, for they all have one father even in the flesh, as they have one father in God. God is not only the God of Israel, He is "the God of all flesh" (Jeremiah 32.27) or, as Moses called Him: "The God of the spirits of all flesh" (Numbers 16.22). Now, the Pharisees must have reasoned, if God is not the tribal God of Israel but the God of all peoples, then the conception of Israel as the people of God must also not be limited to the tribes of Israel. Israel potentially embraces all mankind. It can and should be enlarged so as to include all other people. Not that Israel should give up his uniqueness, lose his identity among the other peoples, and become like them. This is impossible. The very thought of it has been denounced by the prophet: "That which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, in that ye say: 'We will be as the nations, as the families of the countries to serve wood and stone' " (Ezekiel 20.32). And another prophet declared, that Israel shall never cease from being a nation before God (Jeremiah 31.36–37). And still another one declares in the name of God: "For I, the Lord, change not, and ye, O sons of Jacob, are not consumed" (Malachi 3.6). Israel will remain forever a distinct people. It is a separate family and must retain its separateness among the families of the earth. But he cannot claim any special privileges. The other people are free to join him and become like him. "The stranger shall join himself with them and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob" (Isa. 14.1). "Neither let the alien that hath joined himself to the Lord speak, saying: 'The Lord will surely separate me from His people' " (ibid. 56.3). For God wants all the people to be like Israel. "The Holy One of Israel shall be called the God of all the earth" (Isa. 54.5), the prophet declares. This can only mean, that all the peoples of the earth shall become like Israel in believing in the Holy One and accepting His Law. And it is Israel's duty and function to help the other people to do so. Israel's position among the other nations is that of an older brother. In a religious sense he is the older brother, since he was the first to recognize God as the father. For this reason God called him, "My son, My first-born" (Exod. 4.23). But all the other nations are also children of God, younger sons, as it were. And it is the duty of the older brother to teach and help the younger ones.

According to the Pharisees, it was for that very purpose and with this understanding that God gave the Torah to Israel in the wilderness. The Torah was not given in Palestine, said the Pharisees, for then Israel could have claimed it as their own and withheld it from the other nations. And the other nations could have had an excuse for not accepting it. The Torah was given in the wilderness, in no man's land, so that every one who desires it can accept it (Mekilta Baḥodesh I and Friedmann 62a and 67a). Before giving them the Torah, God stipulated with Israel that they must be a kingdom of priests (Exod. 19.6), that is, that they should render to the other nations those services which the priests rendered them. The Torah was meant for all men. This is the Torah for men, and not only for Priests, Levites, and Israelites, say the Pharisees. For the Torah does not say: Which Priests, Levites, and Israelites shall do and live by them. It says: "Which a man shall do and live by them" (Levit. 18.5), clearly indicating that the gentile who keeps the Torah is not only like the Jew but even as good as the High priest (Sifra, Aḥare XIII, Weiss 86b). Not all Israel understood the Torah at once. For quite a time, only the priests knew it and taught it to them. The Israelites must do the same for the non-Israelites. Israel must be the priest-teacher of the other nations, but is not to claim any privilege, for, according to the Pharisees, even the priest of the family of Aaron should have no privileges. As soon as the lay people of Israel learned to know the Torah, the Pharisees claimed, they became like the priests, the sons of Aaron; and likewise as soon as the Gentiles learn to know and observe the Torah they become like their priest-teachers, the Israelites. And there were among the leaders of the Pharisees descendants of Gentiles, who were great and recognized teachers of the Torah. The Pharisees insisted that a man's religious position is not determined by his birth but by his mode of life. To emphasize this idea and in opposition to the Sadducean priests they called themselves "Disciples of Moses" (תלמידיו של משה, Yoma 4a) as contrasted with the "descendants of Aaron." They preferred to "sit on Moses' seat" (Matth. 23.2) and teach the Torah as Moses taught it, rather than to stand at the altar and offer sacrifices. Not that they disparaged all the functions of the priests. For, just as they appreciated the function of teaching the Law, once performed by the priests but now assumed by them, so also did they appreciate the activity of establishing peace among men, for which Aaron, the brother of Moses, the ideal priest, was famous. But they claimed that even for these functions of the priests, as for the function of teaching, one need not be a descendant of Aaron, for the talent of performing them is not an inherited one. One can acquire it and exercise it and thus be a *disciple* of Aaron, no matter from whom one may be descended. The following report of an encounter between a Sadducean High-priest and the two Pharisaic leaders, Shemaiah and Abtalion, who were of Gentile descent, brings out this position of the Pharisees most clearly: The High priest in greeting said to them: "Peace be unto the sons of the Gentiles," thus alluding to their non-Jewish descent. To this they replied: "Peace be unto the sons of the Gentiles who do the work of Aaron, but not unto a son of Aaron who does not do the work of Aaron" (Yoma 71b). Their disciple, Hillel, could well say: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving all thy fellow-creatures and drawing them near to the Torah" (Abot I, 12). These were not merely preachings; the works of the Pharisees were in line with their teachings, for, in truth, the Pharisees practiced what they preached. Josephus tells us, that "the Pharisees are friendly to one another and are for the exercise of concord and regard for the public" (Wars II, 8. 2). But he does not tell all. The Pharisees, according to the program of Hillel, not only exercised concord among their own people but also sought to establish it among all men. They combined the activities of Moses and Aaron. They thought that the best way of establishing good will among men was to bring them to an acceptance of the Torah, whose ways are ways of pleasantness and whose paths are peace. For, according to Pharisaic ideas, the whole Torah aims to establish good will among men, כל התורה כולה מפני דרכי שלום (Giṭṭin 59b). Or, as Hillel expressed it to the Gentile who wished to become converted to Judaism: "What is unpleasant to you do not unto your fellowman, this is the whole of the Torah. All the rest of its contents is but commentary" to this golden rule (Shabbat 31a). We show best our true love for our fellowman if we do not withhold from him what would be of greatest use to him in his life. And the Pharisees, prompted by such a love for humanity as was taught by Hillel, did seek to bring mankind to the Torah, or rather to bring the Torah to mankind, to offer to their fellowmen that most precious gift, which they considered of the greatest value in life.

With Micah and Isaiah they believed that at some future time all nations will come up to the mountain of the Lord, to the God of Jacob, to learn His ways, to walk in His paths, and accept the Torah from Zion. But they were not content to wait idly till the end of days when a Messiah will come and realize this ideal. Significantly enough, they did not indulge in speculations about the coming of a Messiah, and the early Pharisees very rarely refer to it.[57] Their plan was that the Torah should go forth out of Zion before the coming of the Messiah and that the word of God from Jerusalem shall spread to all mankind in their own time and by their own efforts. Instead of waiting for the nations to come to Zion seeking the Torah, they went out from Zion taking the Torah with them and bringing it to the nations. They engaged in a very active propaganda for Judaism. They did "compass sea and land to make one proselyte" (Matth. 23.15). And when he became so they made him feel fully as one of their own and showered upon him lavish attention. Such a treatment of the proselyte was repeatedly enjoined upon them by the Torah, as they understood it. The laws of the Torah forbidding certain nations to "enter into the assembly of the Lord" (Deut. 23.4–9) were understood to mean only that intermarriage with them was prohibited. But even this restriction the Pharisees declared could not be applied against any nation on earth. They declared that the nations of their time, even though they bore the same names as the nations against whom the Mosaic prohibition was decreed, no longer were identical with them. Wars subsequent to the time of Moses had brought about an intermingling of the various nations (M. Yaddayim IV, 4). And Pharisaic Judaism does not discriminate against any nation, race, or color. Whosoever accepts the Torah and embraces Judaism is in every respect a Jew.

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[57] Comp. J. Klausner הרעיון המשיחי בישראל, second edition, Jerusalem, 1927, p. 250ff. The one express reference to the coming of the Messiah made by R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai is rather indifferent. It reads as follows: אם היתה נטיעה בתוך ידך ויאמרו לך: הרי לך המשיח בוא ונטע את הנטיעה ואחר כך צא והקבילו Abot d. R. Natan version B. ch. XXXI (Schechter 34a). This simply means: Do not let the coming of the Messiah cause you to neglect your work. Whether the same teacher's saying on his death bed: "Prepare a chair for Hezekiah the king of Judah who has come" הכינו כסא לחזקיהו מלך יהודה שבא (Berakot

That the Pharisees were successful in their campaign is fully attested by the spread of Judaism throughout the heathen world in the century before, and the first century after, the common era.[58] The success of the apostles and the early Christian missionaries among the Gentiles was due in a large measure to the extensive propaganda against heathenism that had been carried on by the Pharisees. In the course of time, however, because of internal and external unfavorable conditions, the Pharisees gave up their active proselytizing propaganda. But they did not change

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28b) expresses the belief in the approaching advent of the Messiah (comp. J. Klausner op. cit. p. 252 and note 6) is to my mind very doubtful.

[58] Comp. Josephus, Contra Apionem II, 11; Paul in his Epistle to the Romans 2.19–20; Schürer op. cit. III p. 162ff. and p. 553ff. Schürer, however, is wrong when he assumes that these liberal activities for proselytizing were carried on only by the Jews of the Diaspora. Comp. also Moore, op. cit. I, p. 22–23 and p. 108.

their ideas about the unity of mankind. They welcomed proselytes but did not go out to seek them. They declared that the Gentiles even though they do not accept all of Judaism, if they believe in God and live a righteous life, will have a share in the future life (Tosefta Sanhedrin XIII, 2). Even though they insisted upon the separateness of Israel, they meant him to be but one of the families of the earth, living with all of them in peace and harmony.

These were the fundamental beliefs and guiding principles of the Pharisees. Knowing these, we understand their position. For all their activities, their opposition to the priests, their work among their people, and their proselytizing propaganda were but expressions of these beliefs and means for the realization of their ideal, which was to bring their people and all mankind nearer to God by teaching them to observe the Law of God. If they were not always consistent, let us remember that practical teachers have to make concessions and cannot always be consistent. If, as it seems to us, they did not draw all the logical conclusions from their advanced ideas and theological premises, let us remember that they were human, subject to error, and that they may not have realized the inconsistencies in some of their positions, as we do. They were far ahead of their time, but perhaps not as far as the twentieth century philosophers and liberal theologians. If they insisted upon the observance of the minutiae of the ritual law, it was not at the expense of the ethical laws, nor to the neglect of the higher spiritual values of the religious teachings of the Torah and the prophets. They demanded the observance of even these minutiae of ritual because they believed them to be part of the Divine Law. The performance of even the least and most trivial act in the belief that God commanded it reminds one of God and brings one nearer to Him.

Of course, some people may have joined their ranks from ulterior motives. Naturally, there were advantages to be derived from belonging to the party beloved by the people. There may have been some people who outwardly imitated them without sharing their high ideals and without understanding their spiritual motives. The Pharisaic leaders themselves were well aware of the presence of some insincere people among their followers. They call them "the sore spots" or "the plagues of the Pharisaic party" (Sotah III, 4 and 22b). And while they deplored the fact, they had no means of getting rid of them. For, although, as Josephus tells us, "they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by Divine inspiration" (Ant. XVII, 2), they could not see into the hearts of all their followers and discover the insincere motives of some of them. In every society or group engaged in some ideal work there will be found some members who have joined without subscribing to its ideals. So, even if it be admitted that Jesus encountered some of that type and denounced them as hypocrites, it would be the height of absurdity to assume that Jesus denounced the whole party, and to regard all the Pharisees as hypocrites. Certainly not all churchgoers are hypocrites although hypocrites have frequently been found among churchgoers. A religious teacher like Jesus could not have failed to appreciate the faithful work of those spiritual teachers of religion with whom he had so much in common.[59] And, even though he may have disagreed with them on some questions or differed with them in some method, he certainly would not misjudge their devotion to God and their quest for righteousness.

With all the occasional setbacks which Pharisaism experienced in the course of time, it persisted in its course as a liberal religious movement. It has contributed much to religious development and to religious liberalism. For, directly and indirectly, within Judaism and outside of it, it has helped much to bring about a finer appreciation of religious ideas, a higher spiritual conception of God, a better understanding of men as the children of God, and of their relation to one another. It has taught man to recognize God as his father and his fellowman as his brother.

In particular, it has enabled Judaism to develop as a spiritual religion without a sacrificial cult, without an hereditary priesthood, and not limited to any one place, but expressing eternal spiritual truths and spreading the ideas of One God and one humanity throughout the world. Verily, "by their fruits ye shall know them."

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[59] Cf. Shirley Jackson Case, op. cit. p. 305ff.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE HAGGADAH

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I

MARCION AND JEWISH RELIGION

IT was for a long time impossible to ascertain Marcion's place in, and influence on the history of Jewish religion. That we must make room on the leaves of our history for Marcion was rightly recognised by H. Graetz,[1] who, as a very circumspect searcher of Jewish history and with a high sense for gnostic movements and their influence on Judaism, devotes about half a dozen lines to this certainly extraordinary personality. He is surely not to be blamed for being brief on this occasion, and merits praise for mentioning him in depicting Jewish conditions, spiritual and intellectual, in the second century C. E. For Marcion with his adherents and followers contributed a great deal towards shaping Rabbinic theology and Jewish religion. Although his name is never mentioned nor is there any probability of evidence for his Jewish origin, he is lurking behind many questions and attacks raised against the Jewish doctrine of God, the Scriptures and Israel. The real importance of Marcion generally was often surmised, yet only a few years ago truly established by Adolf von Harnack in his investigations about Marcion.[2] The wealth of material heaped up and the far reaching conclusions arrived at by the great German theologian in this publication concern students of Jewish theology in just the same measure as they interest the searcher of Christian origins and cognate problems.

It is idle to speculate nowadays, what the history of the world would have looked like, how the course of humanity would have shaped itself, if the Gospel of Marcion had triumphed over the teaching of early Christianity. His horror of bloodshed, of war, of cruelty of all kinds, on the one side, might have been the greatest blessing to a world steeped in blood and murder during the last 1800 years. His condemnation of marriage, his loathing of the bringing forth of children, on the other, might have outbalanced this and led to the extermination of the human race. Who could dare to prophesy with the vision of a true historian looking backward, what, under these conditions and circumstances, Jewish history could have told or achieved? Yet, there is no need to fall in a network of dreams and visions, when the life and work of the heresiarch supply us with plenty of actual information to remain on the solid ground of facts.

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[1] *Geschichte* IV. 4, Leipzig 1908, pp. 87, 90ff.

[2] *Marcion, das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott*, Leipzig 1921f.

The city of Sinope, in the Pontus, on the south coast of the Black Sea, produced a number of great men. The cynic Diogenes, the Jewish Bible translator Aquilas, and the greatest critic of the Bible, Marcion, first saw the light of day at Sinope. The two latter, the great admirer and the greater enemy of the Bible, were contemporaries. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether these two men ever met, ever saw each other, ever aired their views one before the other. No record is available to answer these queries. Jews and Jewish communities were scattered over all the towns and cities of the Pontus. Old-Rabbinic literature preserved the name of Pontus.[3] There is some chance that another translator of the Bible, namely Theodotion, also hailed from the Pontus,[4] if reliance can be placed on a somewhat obscure report. Marcion's personal relations to Jews and Judaism are not recorded, even his contact with Christianity is not clear enough. Altogether the heresiarch did not provide his admirers and opponents with biographical material, as lesser men in his and all times did. Many saints are prone to self-advertisement, sometimes under the cloak of humility. His date, and this is of primary importance for our investigation, can be fixed, with some certainty, between 85–165 C. E. His personal influence and intellectual power was at one time so great and so much felt that the whole edifice of the Christian Church was in great danger of collapsing owing to this great personality and the churches founded by him. Yes, the church fathers of the West, a host of clergymen, like Justin, Ireneus, Tertullian, Origen and others, fought against Marcion and his followers. They prevailed. The crisis passed in the West. Not so in the East. There Marcion's teaching had a longer life. There it flourished till the fifth century, or longer, till it grew old, and was supplanted by new sects, e. g. the Manichees. We, naturally, can only look as outsiders on the struggle between Marcion and the church fathers. It concerns us, however, that Marcion was followed in Syria, Mesopotomia and Palestine during a part of the Tannaitic period and the whole of the ages of the Amoraim. Yet, it may be asked, how does that affect Jews and Judaism? Since Marcion's thoughts centered around the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish Doctrine of God, his activity, his influence could not remain limited to Christians, but left very remarkable traces on Jews and Jewish communities. It must have provoked a counteraction among Jews, just as among Christians. Jewish teachers were forced to protest against Marcion's doctrine or to defend their own just as was done by the church fathers. However great the gulf was between the latter and the former, practical considerations taught both that with the loss of the Bible both Church and Synagogue, Christianity as well as Judaism, are doomed for ever. One has to look at the *Antitheses* of Marcion, which are lost, as preserved in fragments in the works of the church fathers, to find clear proofs for these facts. Marcion's teachings contained just as great a danger for the Church as for the Synagogue. However that may be, Jews who came into contact—and how could they avoid it?—with Marcion's pupils and followers in Rome or Antioch, in Tiberias or Caesarea, were very deeply impressed by the questions raised or the contradictions pointed out by agitators and fanatics. The Bible, the only treasure which escaped the fire of Jerusalem, was in the greatest possible danger. The doctrine of God, as taught and believed in the synagogues and the houses of the Jews, was at stake. The future and the further existence of the Jewish people, already weakened by so many political debacles and worsted by so many sectarian splits, seemed threatened.

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[3] Krauss, *Gr. L. W.* II 429.

[4] v. Harnack, l. c. p. 21 note 1.

The difficulties felt by readers of the Bible are older than Marcion and his age. Readers of the Scriptures asked their questions and pointed out their surprise at this or that law or story. Jewish circles as well as Jewish Christians applied to them the allegorical method of interpretation by which troublesome passages could be smoothed out. Old Alexandrian doctrines and Philonic ideas were brought forward from antiquated storehouses of learning and dusty corners of religious or philosophic thoughts to defend the Bible. Marcion contended that the letter of the text must hold water. There were others who eliminated inconvenient passages as forgeries. Marcion was more consistent than these. Either the whole, or nothing. Is it at all likely that such a gigantic fight, pro and con the Bible, should have left the Jews cold? Or could it remain unknown to them? A secret to those who visited the synagogues, and their spiritual leaders? We essay to consult the Rabbinic sources on these questions. By such an investigation we can only gain. First of all we may be enabled to pierce through the darkness covering those ages, and secondly comprehend better the background of the teachings of the Haggadah.

II

The chief feature of Marcion's teaching was the doctrine of the two Gods. The Demiurgos, the god of the Jews, the god of this world, the known god, on one side, and the highest god, the great unknown god on the other side. We will have to hear something about the nature of these two Gods later on. Here, it may be sufficient to point out that this dualistic conception of the Godhead is common to all teachers and sects, who sail under the common flag of Gnosticism. They differ from one another in many, important and petty details. In the principle of dualism they concur. Yet, Marcion's dualism is at variance with the dualism of the other Gnostics. He speaks of an unknown God, who is none else but Jesus Christ, the Christian God. It is still argued and left open, whence this dualistic theory originated; whether it came from Iran or Greece;[5] whether it purposed to answer the old query: Unde malum? or syncretize Polytheism and Monotheism, or bridge over the unbridgeable. Who knows!

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[5] v. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, 3rd ed. vol. 2a, 591ff.

One fact is plainly clear that these theories made considerable inroads among Jews, as well as among Christians and pagans. Otherwise their frequent occurrence in older and younger sources of the Midrashic literature cannot be properly accounted for. Let us consider first statements bearing on this point, on the dualistic theories of the Gnostics. We begin with the Unbeliever,[6] or according to another source the Emperor, who essayed to impress R. Gamaliel II with his idea deduced from Scriptures that the God, who created the mountains, did not create the wind. This interlocutor was a dualist, but by no means a Marcionite, for the latter would never have raised such a difficulty. Surely, the one Demiurgos created both. It would be too early to expect Marcionite teaching to be current in the time of R. Gamaliel. Marcion never tried to prove nor did he assert that the Bible teaches the existence of more than one God, one Creator. He is not the Supreme Being, he is inferior to the Unknown God. Next to R. Gamaliel II, his contemporary R. Akiba has to be mentioned. His polemic goes against dualists, who believe in two Gods, e. g., Heaven and Earth.[7] In his exegetical way he asserts that some people might put in Gen. 1.1 the idea that Heaven and Earth are two gods. The particles את nullify such construction. Marcion knew better than teaching such doctrines. The dualists of R. Akiba could not have been followers of Marcion. A late Talmudic tradition makes Elisha ben Abuyah, a contemporary of R. Akiba, a believer in dualistic theories. His theories are not preserved to enable us to form a correct opinion of his attitude towards gnostic doctrines. There is a report in

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[6] b. Sanh. 39a א"ל האי כופר cf Yalkuṭ Makiri, Amos, ed. Greenup, London 1910, p. 69 קיסר inst. of כופר. cf. also Yalkuṭ Makiri, Psalms, ed. Buber, 94.11.

[7] Tanḥ B (=Buber) I 5f. R. Ishmael and R. Akiba, אלו נאמר שמים וארץ היינו אומר' שתי אלוהות הן Gen. r. 1.14. v. also Midrash Abkir, ed. Marmorstein, *Dvir*, I 1923, 126–127; v. now Aptowitzer, *MGWJ* 73 (1929) p. 114, who sees in this discussion between R. Ishmael and R. Akiba an allusion to the Christian doctrine of Trinity, because the idea of Heaven and Earth being regarded as deities, must appear *stupid* (*unsinnig*). It is still to be proved that R. Akiba had the faintest idea of the Trinity, furthermore whether R. Akiba paid any attention at all to Christian beliefs and teachings. R. Akiba must have known more about the conception of divinity and about the mythological meaning of Ge and Uranos among his contemporaries than we give him credit for.

Aramaic,[8] according to which Aḥer saw Metatron sitting and writing the merits of Israel. This vision gave rise to doubts and scepticism in the heart of Aḥer. There was namely a tradition that there is neither sitting, nor strife, nor weariness above. Aḥer, therefore, concluded that there must be two powers, God and Metatron.[9] The report should not be considered too seriously in guiding us in trying to establish Aḥer's peculiar heresy. As a Jewish Gnostic, he might have taught and believed in the existence of the Highest and Metatron. The next teacher who is to be mentioned here is a contemporary of Marcion, R. Simeon ben Joḥai. He depicts in a parable citizens criticising a palace built by their king. The original form is preserved in the Tannaitic Midrash on Deuteronomy, the Sifre; the younger sources have an altered and adapted version. This can be clearly seen by comparing the text of the different sources. These are: (a) Sifre,[10] (b) Midrash Tannaim,[11] (c) Gen. r.[12] and (d) Eccl. r.[13] The order in Gen. r. and Eccl. r. is somewhat puzzling. Both have R. Huna (two sayings), R. Hona, R. Naḥman (two parables), R. Simeon ben Joḥai, R. Levi b. Hayta and R. Isaac b. Meryon. R. Levi's saying taught by R. Phinehas concludes the Haggadah. The order cannot be justified and appears strange. Yet the name of R. Simon ben Joḥai cannot be a mistake for a later teacher, for instance R. Simeon ben Laḳish, since the saying agrees, with variants, with a saying ascribed to R. Simeon ben Joḥai in the older sources.

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[8] b. Ḥag. 15a.

[9] Metratron gave rise to many ill-founded speculations. One identifies him with Mithra, v. *ZfWTh.* 27.357, Graetz, *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, p. 44 with the Demiurgos; also *MGWJ* 8, 105; v. also Dukes, *Zur Kenntnis der Poesie*, p. 108; Joel, *Blicke* I 127.1; *Kerem Ḥemed* III. 51 suggested to read מטטרון. v. also *H. B.* IX.38, XX.36. We find the term in Sifre Deut. 338 באצבעו היה מראה מטטרון למשה, Gen. r. 5.3 (Ben Azzai) נעשה קולו של הקב"ה מטטרון למשה, b. AZ. 3b יושב ומלמד תורה לתינוקות של בית רבן, b. Sanh. 38b. R. Idi זה מטטרון ששמו כשם רבו, Jellinek, *BhM* III. 16 and 33, *Traktate Aẓilut* 76b. הנהפך מבו"ד לאש לוהט, Ps. El. Zutta ch. 26 ed. Friedmann p. 31 קורא למטטרון ואל קראתי שמך בשמי AB. of R. Akiba ed. Wertheimer p. 10. He is identified with the prophet Elijah, v. קבוצת חכמים 31, Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitsch.* VI. 166 v. 66. Goldziher, Kobak's *Jeshurun* VIII. 103 Schorr החלוץ VIII. 4, Roth, *ZDMG* VI. 69 Windischmann, *Mithra* p. 36, p. 57; Weinstein, *Zur Genesis der Agada* II.

[10] Sifre Dt. § 307 ed. Friedmann 132bf.

[11] ed. Hoffmann, p. 187.

[12] Gen. r. ch. 12, ed. Theodor p. 98f.

[13] Eccl. r. to 2.12.

SIFRE	MIDR. TANNAIM	ECCL. RABBA	GEN. RABBA
הצור תמים בכל פעלו הצייר שהוא צר העולם תהלה וצר בו את האדם תמים פעלו פעולתו שלימה על כל באי העולם ואין להרהר אחר מדותיו אפי' עוולה של כלום ואין אחד מהם שיסתכל ויאמר אלו היה לי ג' עינים, אלו היה לי ג' ידים, אלו היו לי ג' רגלים, אלו הייתי מהלך על ראשי, אלו היו פני הפוכים לאחורי כמה היה נאה, ת"ל כי כל דרכיו.	תמים פעלו פעולתו שלימה עם כל באי העולם[14] אין אדם בעולם שיאמר[15] אלו היו לי שלש עינים, אלו היו לי שלש רגלים אלו היו לי שלש ידים, אלו היו פני הפוכות לאחור אלו הייתי מהלך על ראשי הייתי נאה[16] למה? כי כל דרכיו משפט.	ארשב"י מלה"ד למלך בו"ד שבנה פלטין וכל העוברים ושבים נכנס לתוכה ואמרו אילו היו עמודיה גבוהים היתה נאה, אילו היו כותליה גבוהים היתה נאה, אילו היתה תקרתה גבוה היתה נאה[17] שמא יבוא איש ויאמר אילו היו לי ג' ידים או [ג' עינים או ג' אזנים או ג' רגלים הייתי נאה ת"ל את אשר כבר עשהו אכ"כ אלא את אשר כבר עשוהו כביכול הקב"ה וב"ד עשוהו, נמנים על כל אבר ואבר משלך ומעמידך על תוכנך וא"ת שתי רשויות הן והלא כבר נאמר והוא עשך וכוננך.	אמר רשב"י משל למלך בו"ד שבנה פלטין והביריות נכנסין בתוכה ואומרים אילו היו העמודים גבוהים היתה נאה, אילו היו הכתלים גבוהים היתה נאה, אילו היתה תיקרה גבוהה היתה נאה, שמא יבוא אדם ויאמר אילו היו לו ג' עינים או ג' רגלים אתמהא ! את אשר כבר עשהו אין כתיב כאן אלא את אשר כבר עשוהו, כביכול מלך מלכי המלכים ברוך הוא ובית דינו ממנים על כל אבר ואבר משלך ומעמידך על תוכנך הוא עשך ויכוננך.

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[14] S. reads אל, MT. עם.

[15] This version is shorter and simpler than that of Sifre.

[16] Notice the difference in the order between S. and MT. Sifre has (a) eyes (b) hands (c) feet MT. (a), (c), (b). Further S. has first מהלך על ראשי and then פני הפוכים MT. vice versa.

[17] The parable of the king and his palace is not in S. and MT. The agreement begins with שמא יבוא. Attention may be called to the fact that in the parable people are allowed to visit the palace. The parable exaggerates, when assuming that the palaces might have been open to sight-seers and passers-by. The visits, surely, were limited to guests and distinguished visitors.

This comparison leaves no doubt about the origin of the saying. The omission in the Sifre and MT. of the reference to God and his heavenly court, and its insertion in the younger Midrashim is very instructive. It corroborates an assumption made by the present writer in another place, that the whole conception of God with his heavenly court, or academy is not older than the third century, and was apparently unknown to the Haggadists of the Tannaitic age.[18] Just as there can be no question as to the mutual relation of these four sources to one another, so there can be no doubt as to the origin of these criticisms. What necessity was there on R. Simeon ben Joḥai's part to bring such questions to the pulpit? He wants to ridicule the Marcionite talk about the *pussilitates* of the Creator, the Demiurgos. Tertullian goes against the "impudent" Marcionites in the Church just the same as, at the same time, R. Simeon ben Joḥai in the Synagogue. Tertullian says about the Marcionites: "contravertuntur ad destructionem operum creatoris; minirum, inquiunt, grande opus et dignum deo mundus."[19] The creation of the world and man are bad, an abominable failure. R. Simeon retorts: Nobody can complain about not having three hands, eyes, ears, legs, etc.

III

A closer investigation of this Piska, which is ascribed to R. Simeon ben Joḥai, may lead to far-reaching results, if examined in this new light. Bearing in mind the "pussilitates" of the Demiurgos, ascribed to him by Marcion, we may find in the four homilies preserved in our Piska four sermons dealing with Marcion's objections to the Bible. We observed that one of these homilies is older than the third century. The same date may be given to the other homilies. All of them expound Deut. 32.4. Each sentence is most appropriate to emphasize the perfectness of God's work, the justice of his ways, his truth and uprightness, all of which were partly misjudged, partly denied by

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[18] Marmorstein, Anges et hommes dans l'Agada. *REJ* 84, 1927, pp. 37–51, and ibid. 138–141.

[19] *Adv. haeres.* I. 13.

Marcionite theologians. His justice, which was recognized, is also faulty.[20]

The first homily, undoubtedly, rejects one of Marcion's criticisms of the work of the Creator. The creation of man must not be considered as a gross failure. God trusted the world. Man was not created to be wicked, but to become just. He deals rightly with man. Each of these concluding sentences of this first homily retorts against Marcionite calumnies, that God is envious of the world, inspired by evil desires to make man wicked, and treating him badly. The second homily refutes another of Marcion's much emphasized pussilitates. The subject of the homily is the same as that of the first one. The Creator's deeds are perfect with all his creatures. Evil intentions, unworthy aims, which the Creator is alleged to have harboured in his innermost heart, must not be repeated and thought of. "None can or may say: Why was the generation of the flood drowned, why was the generation of the Tower dispersed from one end of the earth to the other, why were the inhabitants of Sodom burnt by fire and brimstone, Korah and his set swallowed up by the earth, Aaron distinguished by the dignity of the priesthood, why was David crowned? Why? Because God grants to each individual what he rightly deserves." What did the preacher intend by complaining about the punishment of the generations of flood and dispersion, Sodomites and Korah on one side, and about the priesthood of Aaron and the Kingdom of David on the other side? Without Marcion we cannot fathom the purpose of this homily. Let us compare this homily with Marcion, and we will surely behold the proper background of this Haggadah Marcion proves the Creator to be *conditor malorum* by relating and elaborating the story of the flood, the destruction of Sodom, the plagues of Egypt, the hardening of Pharao's heart, the visiting of the fathers' sin on their children, and the favouring of the wicked, of giving honour to and exalting bad men. Among the latter, naturally, one would not miss David, Solomon, Lot and his daughters, Moses, and Joshua.[21] Does our homily not read exactly as a refutation of Marcion's theories? Can it be an accident that the Jewish preacher mentions in the first part the flood, Sodom, Korah, etc., and in the second part Aaron and David, almost the same people, whom Marcion points out for the opposition? That cannot be a play of accident. There must have been channels which led from the Marcionites to the Synagogues and back. We will soon be able to show that this homilist was by no means the only one, who felt himself forced to stand in the breach. There were a number of Jewish sages who repelled Marcionite attacks. Our preacher concludes with describing God as a faithful treasurer, who rewards and punishes according to man's deeds.

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[20] Each of the first three homilies is closely connected with the text, the fourth is rather fragmentary, yet can be completed by means of the Ps.-Jonathan targum on Dt. 32.4. The arrangement of the different homilies illustrates types of sermons as preached in the second century. Put in their proper light they reflect the anxieties and worries felt by preachers and audience alike. The proper understanding of the external form is as much needed as the history of the thoughts which agitated the mind of the authors of these homilies; however, that must be left for discussion in a forthcoming chapter.

The third homily[22] is also of the same age, and pursues the same aim, as the previous two. God pays the reward of the righteous, and punishes the wicked, but the good deeds of the latter, and sins of the former are not lost sight of. Everything will right itself at the future judgment. These doctrines are pointed out very sharply, in order to combat heretical opinions on these beliefs. Marcion believed in and preached of God's justice, just as the rabbis, but even this virtue was marred by being faulty. This seems to me to be the subject of the fourth homily, which is preserved only in a fragmentary form.

IV

Was there any need on the part of Jewish teachers and preachers to pay such attention to these heretical views? Is it not rather exaggerated to surmise that these few resemblances and refutations reveal new spiritual and intellectual influences, of which the commentators of these Rabbinic documents never dreamt? What do we know of close social and commercial relations between Jews and Gentiles to be able to assert such a far-reaching influence of Marcionite propaganda among Jews? Such a long and dry catalogue of God's sins and shortcomings, as was preached and proclaimed in the assemblies and schools of Marcion's followers, as pointed out in the following lines, could not have remained a secret to Jews, who dwelt among them. The rabbis, just as the church fathers, and perhaps even more so, have had to take up the cudgels for their God and Bible. It is well established that the list of God's sins in the Clementine Homilies (II 48f) faithfully reproduces the attitude of Marcion and his followers to the Hebrew Bible. We give a short extract of these two chapters. "God lies, makes experiments as in ignorance, deliberates and changes his purpose, envies, hardens hearts, makes blind and deaf, commits pilfering, mocks, is weak, unjust, makes evil things, does evil, desires the fruitful hill, is false, dwells in a tabernacle, is fond of fat, sacrifices, offerings, etc., is pleased with candles and candlesticks, dwells in shadow, darkness, storms and smoke, comes with trumpets, shoutings, darts and arrows, loves war, is without affection, is not faithful to his promises, loves the wicked and adulterers, and murderers, changes his mind, chooses evil men."

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[21] For fuller details about Marcion, v. von Harnack, l. c. p. 95.

[22] The first two homilies have as their subject: פעולתו שלימה על (עם) כל באי העולם. The third one is headed: פעולתם של באי העולם שלימה לפניו: the deeds of creatures perfect before Him.

Twenty-four (a number favoured in Rabbinic writings) charges! All of them based on narratives in the Scriptures. Such voices could not have been silenced at any time by merely ignoring them. These assertions must have made an immense impression on Jews of different types of upbringing and sentiment. They must have turned with their troubles and difficulties to their spiritual guides and leaders. Are there any traces of these attempts to refute these slanders and damaging attacks against the religion of the Jews? I propose to treat them individually.

(1) God lies! The rabbis assert in many places that God's name or seal is truth. R. Isaac, in the 3rd cent., seems to have had this heresy in mind, when preaching on God and Truth. His sermon is based on Ps. 119.169 ("The beginning of thy word is truth"), cf. Jer. 10.10 ("and the Lord God is truth"). Since He is truth and his word is truth, all his decrees are just, and no creature could plead that *two powers* gave the Law, two

powers created the world.[23] No student of Marcion's religion can miss the significant points in this preacher's homily, which no pilpulistic Midrash exegesis ever could guess. Analysing his words, we see first of all that God's truthfulness or his identification with truth, is being deduced from Scriptural evidence. God does not lie, but he is truth. Secondly, whence do people get the notion of God's untruth or lack of truth, by finding faults with God's justice. This argument does not hold its ground, for his deeds and decrees are just. Thirdly, this being the case, that God is truthful and just, the whole theory of the two gods falls to the ground. R. Isaac, whose teachings reveal great interest in defence of Judaism and in polemics against heathendom, gnostics and probably Christians as well, may have known or heard of Marcion's teachings.[24] R. Abin, [25] another teacher of the same type and predilection as R. Isaac, explains the same passage in Jeremiah by emphasizing the doctrine of God's Eternity and single Rulership of the world. An often repeated saying has it that truth is the seal of God.[26] In later sources truth becomes one of the Divine names.[27] On the basis of what facts the actual charge of God's untruthfulness might have been made, is not recorded.

(2) The accusation that God makes experiments, and of his ignorance, is based on God's testing Abraham (Gen. 22.1). The difficulty in the text stands, whether one translates: "God did test Abraham" or "God tempted Abraham." The Haggadah shows traces of discussions on this point, which prove that the generations before Marcion must have paid close attention to this problem. At least no direct influence of Marcion can be established. R. Jose, the Galilean must have had a very cogent reason for stating that נסה means neither "tested," nor "tempted,"

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[23] Gen. r. ch. 1, ed. Theodor p. 4.

[24] v. Marmorstein, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* I p. 17, p. 42; II, p. 62, p. 69.

[25] pal. Ber. I.5.

[26] R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama, b. Sabb. 55a חותמו של הקב"ה אמת, b. Yoma 69b, pal. Sanh. 18a. R. Bibi in the name of R. Reuben, חותמו של הקב"ה אמת. Dt. r. 1.7, Cant. r. 1.45, Gen. r. 81.

[27] v. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* I, London 1927 p. 73.

but that God exalted Abraham as the flag of a boat is put on the top. R. Akiba is inclined to take the verb literally. God really tested Abraham, he was free to obey or disobey. Why did God test him and leave him free choice? In order that the nations could not argue: "He was confused, bewildered, and he was not conscious of his deeds!"[28]

Another difficulty of the same sort was provided by Exod. 15.25, which was felt strongly before Marcion launched his destructive criticism of the Bible. This instance is noteworthy from more than one point of view! We learn of the continuity of the attack as well as of the defence. R. Joshua ben Hananiah disposes of the difficulty of ושם נסהו in the same manner as R. Jose the Galilean did later on with והאלהים נסה.[29] R. Eleazar of Modi'im agrees with R. Akiba.[30] The latter do not object to the literal meaning of the text, the former explain the difficulty away. A later teacher, disregarding the text, makes of the sentence: "Our fathers tested God,"[31] Surely only under great stress of gnostic attacks could such a forced explanation originate!

Ex. 20.20 לבעבור נסות אתכם offered Gnostics and Bible critics of various schools a good opportunity to assert that God makes experiments and is ignorant, otherwise why should he say: "In order to test you?" Here, the Mekilta, disregarding the view of R. Eleazar of Modi'im and R. Akiba, records merely the opinion of their opponents. The verb לנסות does not mean "to test," but "to exalt," "magnify."[32] Nevertheless, the view and teaching of R. Akiba was the subject of interpretation in the following centuries. R. Isaac, R. Jose b. Ḥanina, and R. Eleazar b. Pedat exemplified by parables the conception that God actually tested Abraham. A potter knocks harder on the sound pots than on the weak ones. A flax maker tries the strong flax, the farmer places the heavier burden on the strong animal, so God tests the righteous people, and not the wicked, the former can stand trials, not so the latter.[33] But could these Tannaites and Amoraim see the danger in broadcasting the view that God tests people? Did they not confirm the antagonists in their view that God makes experiments and acts in ignorance? The tests have been real, but not as experiments and marks of God's ignorance, but they served as proofs to the world that God's chosen ones were pious, righteous and worthy of God's favour. Now, this latter point, as we saw already above, and will have plenty of opportunities to recur to again, was harped on most religiously and continuously by Marcion and his followers. The allegation of God's ignorance was not so dangerous as the teaching that God chooses unworthy, and punishes good people.[34] No, the pious and worthies of the Bible were not evildoers and culprits, they only proved their worth. A feeble, but all the same very interesting solution of our difficulty is offered by R. Abin. He makes Israel point out contradictions between Scriptural passages. They are like pupils, we are told, who find discrepancies between their master's word on the one side, and his doings on the other side. A conflict between what they say and what they do. The questioners are here Jews. Lev. 19.18 teaches prohibition of vengeance. Nahum 1.2 states clearly that God is taking vengeance. Similarly Deut. 6.16 says: Ye shall not test God, yet Gen. 22.1 says: And God tested Abraham? The preacher draws a line between Israel and Gentiles.[35] However unsatisfactory the reply seems to be, one fact is certain that Marcion's *antitheses* penetrated into Jewish circles, just as they found their way into Christian homes, and stirred up feelings of contempt. For these questions are neither Christian, nor pagan, but Marcion's to prove the great contrast between doctrine and practice in the Bible.[36]

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[28] Gen. r. 55, ed. Theodor 589, Tanḥ. B. וירא old ed. B. 26, Agadat Bereshit 31.2. Pes. r. 170a. It is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty whom R. Akiba had in mind when quoting this real or possible assertion of the nations. All the same the argument is based on facts. The same diatribe is used by the Syrian Church Father Ephraem v. *MGWJ*. 43.530, yet it is doubtful whether he copied R. Akiba; or did he quote a saying current in his days? It is not impossible that both Akiba and Ephraem faced representatives of the same schools.

[29] Mek. 46a. MRSbJ, p. 73 שם נשא לו גדולה or שם נעשה נישאון לישראל based on II K. 25.24.

[30] ibid. שם נסה המקום את ישראל.

[31] MRSbJ, p. 73 ד"א ושם נסהו שם ניסו אבותינו את המקום.

[32] Mek. 72a, MRSbJ, p. 114 בשביל לגדל אתכם בא האלהים Ps.-Jonathan, Gen. 22.1, Ex. 15.25 (ותמן נסייה בנסיונא עשראה) and 20.17 (מן בגלל לנסיותכון) follows R. Akiba's school and ways.

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[33] Gen. r. ch. 55.1, ed. Th. 585, chap. 32, ed. Th. 290, where, however, R. Isaac's parable is cited in the name of R. Jonathan b. Eli'ezer, chap. 34, ed. Th. p. 314, likewise Tanḥ. B. שמות 10, וירא 20, Cant. r. 21.6.M. Ps. 11.4 with variants, pointed out in Theodor's commentary.

One may take the opportunity here to call attention to the affinity between Stoic teaching and Haggada, another large subject, which illuminates the background of the Haggada from another point of view. The idea and the aim of this teaching as represented by the teachers mentioned in the text, fully agrees with maxims to be found in the writings of the Stoa. Seneca, *de Prov.* I Says: "God does not keep a *good man* in prosperity, *He tries*, He strengthens him, He preserves him for Himself." Or, ibid. IV: "Those whom God approves of, whom He loves, He *burdens*, *He proves*, *He exercises*, but those whom He seems to indulge and spare, He prepares for future ills." I hope, at a future occasion, to present my whole material to show the relation of the Haggadists to the Stoa.

[34] v. above p. 150 and later on pp. 181 f.

It would be entirely wrong to assume that the point of view taught by the opponents of R. Akiba was altogether lost sight of. That is not so! Curiously enough—and it must not be accounted for as a mere accident, but may have a deeper reason, which cannot be searched out here—R. Joshua's and R. Jose ha-Gelili's view is found only in the anonymous Haggadah. There the verb נסה is taken and expounded in the sense ascribed to it by these scribes. God did not test, but exalted Abraham. The anonymous teachers of the Amoraic age are preaching under the dark shadow of Marcionite influence. Why (was Abraham found righteous, was he exalted)?—was the impatient and impertinent question raised by the opponents. The answer is: In order that the measure of judgment should have some justification![37] The fragments of Marcionite teaching make it quite clear that Marcion's chief objection was to the מדת הדין, the exact measure of judgment. The Known God, the God of the Jews, shows no traces of affection, no signs of love, no vestige of kindness. Strictest justice is observed, so that God becomes cruel in Marcion's eyes. All the same, God is found guilty of injustice in choosing wrong and unworthy people. There is one of Marcion's greatest blunders, by which a schoolboy could come to grief. Such was this, otherwise great man's blindness. "If a man tells thee: God makes rich, poor, a king, in an arbitrary way! Abraham became rich, a king! Reply to him: Canst thou do what Abraham did?[38] These two terms אם יאמר לך אדם and שלא יתן פתחון פה ל . . . are just as characteristic in the Jewish Haggadah as they are significant for the Cynic-Stoic diatribe, as will be proved in the second part of this essay. In the Haggadah as well as in the Cynic-Stoic sermon the preacher or philosopher introduces ideas, sayings or arguments of a real, or made up, questioner. In order to refute their views, which the preacher dislikes or deems harmful, they are put in this manner hypothetically. We are in our case not at a loss or without proofs that such questions were raised, such objections aired by people, who belonged to Marcion's way of thinking. It will suffice to refer the reader to the Matrona, who worried R. Jose b. Ḥalafta with about a score of Bible questions[39] and must have been imbued with Marcionite doctrines, as will be shown further on—actually asserts her master's point of view: "Your God chooses, whomsoever he likes!" He is arbitrary in his choice. The scribe demonstrated to her in a rather palpable manner that God is capable of selecting right people and rejecting the wrong ones.[40]

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[35] Gen. r. ch. 55, ed. Th. 586. Eccl. r. 8.4, R. Levi.

[36] On this subject v. Marmorstein, Learning and Work, in *London Quarterly Review*, April 1925, 217–225.

[37] שתתקשט מדת הדין בעולם.

(3) These tests and experiments of God are signs of his ignorance. So are the questions asked of Adam[41] and of Cain.[42] Furthermore his descents, among others, to Sodom and Gomorrah.[43] He must descend, in order to see for himself what happens in Sodom, otherwise he would not be aware of the events below. These are some of his pussilitates et infirmitates et incongruentes. The first of these allegations was dealt with by one of the earliest Apologists of the Church, by Theophilus in his work addressed to Autolycus. This writer has many ideas and teachings in common with those current in the literary productions' of the

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[38] Gen. r. ch. 55, ed. Theodor 584f. Tanḥ. B. וירא 42 concludes כדי שלא ליתן פתחון פה לאומות לומר הוא גודלן והוא לא נסה אותן ויעמדו בנסיונן v. also Tanḥ. where the instances of Daniel and his friends are cited.

[39] v. the list in my Midrash Abkir, *Dvir* I, p. 125.

[40] Num. 3.2.

[41] *Ignorans ubi esset Adam*, Tert. IV.20, v. Harnack l. c. p. 93.

[42] *De Cain sciscitatur ubinam frater ejus*? ibid.

[43] Tert. I. 11, Origenes, *Hom.* VIII. 8.

scribes, older and younger than his age.[44] We cannot be wrong in assuming that Theophilus knew of Marcion and of his views. Theophilus surely bore in mind teachings emanating from that quarter when he said: God did not ask this question (namely: Where art thou, Adam? Gen. 3.9) out of ignorance, but in his long-suffering. God wanted to give Adam a fair opportunity for *repentance* and *confession*.[45] I italicize these two words for a reason. The very same defence is preserved in a late Midrash, which surely used older material, the date of which must go back as far as the third century. I mean the Midrash Haggadah[46] where we read: "And God said to Adam: 'Where art thou?' " Did not God know where Adam was? Surely, he did, but he wanted to open a way for him, perhaps he might repent. The very same point must have figured as one of the many attacks against the Bible, collected and spread by Ḥiwi of Balkh in the period of the Geonim, who is related spiritually to Marcion, and greatly indebted to his inheritance.[47] Dark corners of the East may have preserved Marcionite doctrines and writings, especially in Ḥiwi's native place or country, which he perused to a great extent. Of course the possibility of Ḥiwi's acquaintance with Midrashic literature must not be lost sight of. The old heretical writings perished, yet their destructive queries lived on in the literature of the rabbis as well as in that of the Church fathers. However that may be, they are eloquent witnesses for Marcion's influence in the Synagogue. The alteration of the word אַיֶּכָּה (where art thou?) into אֵיכָה (How?) must be considered as an endeavour on the part of the scribes to avoid our very troublesome query.[48]

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[44] v. A. Marmorstein, Jews and Judaism in the Earliest Christian Apologies, *Expositor* 1919, p. 104ff.

[45] BK. II. 21.

[46] ed. Buber, Wien 1894, p. 8. A similar question may have been put by some heretical group also as to Num. 22.9, and answered in a similar manner.

[47] v. Poznanski, *Hagoren* VII. 118. Ibn Ezra's longer commentary on Genesis, ed. M. Friedlander p. 39.

[48] Gen. r. 19.9, ed. Theodor, p. 178f. R. Jose b. Ḥanina, R. Abbahu in his name וקוננתי עליו איכה Pes B. 119a, M. Lam. r. Intr. 4.

Theophilus[49] secondly mentions God's question to Cain, Where is thy brother Abel? He says: "But God, being pitiful, and willing to afford to Cain, *as to Adam*, an opportunity of repentance, and confession said: 'Where is Abel thy brother?' " Striking parallels can be quoted from the Midrash Haggadah,[50] Pseudo-Jonathan Targum,[51] the Chapters of R. Eli'ezer,[52] the Vita Adami,[53] and the Gaon Saadya,[54] for the extension and duration of this question, which enjoyed longevity. God is not ignorant, but he likes to open the door of repentance and confession to sinners, who are his creatures. The negation is just as important as the affirmation, considering the attitude of Marcion.

We turn from this later Haggadah to the earlier one. R. Abba b. Kahana refutes the third proof of this school. Marcion, as far as our evidence goes, based his theory of the ignorance of the Demiurgos on Gen. 18.2. An omniscient God need not go down and see! The Amora explains this phrase in the sense of giving the people of Sodom a fair chance of repentance.[55] Again the same argument we met in Theophilus and Rabbinic sources. Yet, the idea is older. A preacher, whose name is not preserved, proves that the generations of the flood, of the tower, the people of Sodom, and the Egyptians were granted an opportunity of repentance, but they did not avail themselves of God's offer.[56] Now, it cannot be a pure accident that these tannaitic homilists should have catalogued the very same people, whom Marcion pointed out as examples of the gross cruelties committed by the Demiurgos. The latter preacher is not concerned about the ignorance of the Demiurgos, only about his justice. R. Abba b. Kahana, however, combined both arguments to spot the weak points of his opponents, namely God's ignorance and his cruelty. We are able to prove the great antiquity of the argument that God does not, or did not condemn the generations, or the wicked without just cause and without giving them ample opportunity to repent. The Mekilta offers a striking parallel to the passage of the Sifre Deut. analysed already previously.[57] In both Haggadas God's action against the generations of the flood, tower, Sodom and Egypt is defended, or excused, presupposing, naturally, that his actions were severely criticised. One has to bear in mind Marcion's and his followers' attitude towards these Bible narratives to grasp what induced the older and younger teachers to recur to this subject of the generations of the wicked. There is no other explanation for their words except the force of Marcionite influence. Otherwise, one would like to know, what need is, or was, there to justify God's judgment? He is not responsible to anyone? Who can call him to account for his deeds? There are many more passages in the Midrash grouping these and other people of the same type together. One preacher proves that just as God punished by the East Wind the generations of the flood, the tower, Sodom, Egypt, the Ten Tribes, Judah and Benjamin, Tyre, so will he treat the wicked in the future.[58] The generations of the flood, of the Tower, the Sodomites were punished according to their deeds.[59] R. Abba b. Kahana, who lived in the latter part of the third century and was more or less acquainted with contemporary culture and knew some of the manifestations of what was considered modern thought, was forced to refute heretical teachings. The older way of thinking, as represented by older Tannaites, saw no cause for deviating from the accepted literal interpretation of these passages. They enumerated the descents of God from heaven[60] just as they did not mind enumerating the ten trials of Abraham,[61] in spite of the great difficulties involved in their teaching, as shown above. In spite of the fact that so early a writer, as Aristobulus, taught that these descents must not be understood literally.[62] Furthermore, one of the rank of the Tannaites himself proclaimed that the passages speaking of God's descent and ascent must not be taken literally. It is not surprising at all to learn that this saying was phrased by R. Jose b. Ḥalafta, who was a great master in discussing religious problems with a lady who was rather inclined to the gnostic way of thought.[63] Marcion's questions, as we see, brought about many dead-sea fruits of apologetics. Yet, there was also some practical result. The doctrine of God's Omniscience was closely defined and concisely formulated in Rabbinic theology. God's omniscience is without limit and knows no boundary neither in time nor in space.

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[49] BK II. 29, v. Marmorstein, *Expositor*, l. c.

[50] l. c. p. 11.

[51] Gen. 3.9.

[52] ch. XXI.

[53] Kautzsch, *Pseudoepigraphen* p. 522.

[54] v. *Saadia's Polemic against Hiwi el-Balkhi*, New York, 1915, p. 40.

[55] Gen. r. ch. 21, Theodor, p. 201, p. 359; and ch. 49, p. 504.

[56] Mek. 38b, MRSbJ, p. 62f, but shortened.

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[57] v. above pp. 149 f.

[58] Mek. 30b, וכן אתה מוצא שלא נפרע המקום מאנשי דור המבול... אלא ברוח קדים עזה.

[59] Sifre Dt. § 310; v. also Gen. r. 9.8; 5.1; 12.5, M. Ps. 13d, 16d and others.

[60] Mek. 64a, RSbJ, 101, omitted; Sifre Num. §93, Gen. r. ch. 38, ed. Theodor p. 358; R. Simeon ben Joḥai as author, ch. 49, p. 504, Abot R. Nathan I ch. 34, II 37. Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer chaps. 14ff (incomplete), Tanḥ. § 13a.

[61] Abot V. 3, Abot R. N. ch. 33, 34. Pirḳe R. E. ch. 26ff, etc.

(4) The Demiurgos suffers from ignorance, therefore he tests people, but he also deliberates and changes his purpose. The Church fathers furnish several instances for this most characteristic feature, and combine with it the contrarietates preceptorum. He regrets having created man, because he turned evil.[64] Marcion thought of Gen. 6.6. Teachers of the second century, R. Judah b. Ilai and R. Nehemiah pondered on the word וינחם (and he repented), and they try to soften the rather harsh meaning of the verb.[65] R. Joshua b. Ḳarḥa, also of the same period, had a dialogue with a man, who might have been a Marcionite, although he is styled גוי in our sources,[66] on this subject. God does not know the future. Consequently, he cannot be omniscient. A number of preachers of the third century, like R. Aibu, R. Levi and many others, dealt with our problem. No wonder that in contemporary literary documents the wicked are made to say: "God does not know what we are meditating, or doing in secret."[67] There again, one can only guess whether Ḥiwi of

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[62] Eus. *pr. ev.* VIII. 10, *Quest. Phil.* II, 45.

[63] Mek. 65b, RSbJ 101 the saying is omitted, v. however b Sukka 8a, Shabb. 89a, Marmorstein, *Doctrine of God* I, 149.

[64] Harnack, l. c. p. 93.

[65] Gen. r. ch. 27, ed. Th. p. 258, Tanḥ. B, נח 4.

[66] Gen. r. ch. 27, ed. Th. pp. 258–259.

[67] v. Agadat Ber. p. 4. Midrash on Job, Yalḳuṭ Makiri Ps. 146.5 אוי להם לרשעים שהם אומרים אין הקב"ה רואה ויודע. v. also b. Sanh. 98b. Ned. 38a, further Marmorstein, Eine apologetische Mischna, *MGWJ*, 70, 1926, p. 381f.

Balkh copied this heresy from the Gentile's question in the Midrash, or depended on some remnant of Marcion's Antitheses? Our material is so scanty about Ḥiwi's life and age, that at our present state of knowledge the solution of such a question cannot be even attempted. Daniel el-Kumissi[68] and Saadia[69] tried to smooth over this trouble as in a previous instance.

Surely, Gen. 6.6 was not the only passage, which was and could be used by troublers like Marcion. He also could, and surely did make use of other narratives of the Bible. For instance, I. Sam. 15.11 נחמתי כי המלכתי את שאול in spite of I. Sam. 15.29 ולא ינחם כי לא בן אדם הוא להנחם. Marcion, for reasons known to him, but unknown to us, did not avail himself of this text.[70] He saw in Saul's history an instance of God's changeability. First God selected Saul, then he rejected him. The same happened with Solomon. These are some of God's contradictions. An omniscient God should not commit such errors of judgment, and ought to be above such contrarietates. Work on Sabbath was prohibited, yet Joshua was commanded to carry the ark around Jericho for seven days. He was bound to disregard the Law of Sabbath. This is a Marcionite thesis, which recurs very often in the works of the Church fathers and Christian Apologists to prove the change of the Law, especially Sabbath, wrought through the appearance of Jesus Christ.[71] Under these conditions we cannot be surprised to find this argument among a number of heretical objections to God and Bible discussed in Rabbinic sources.[72] All of these questions alluded to are introduced by the rhetorical catchword אם יאמר לך אדם common to the diatribe and favoured by orators of old. The answer does not nearly meet the point of view of the questioner. The trouble was that God contradicts himself by forbidding work on Sabbath on one side, and commanding the breaking of the Sabbath observance on the other side. The reply was not addressed to outsiders, merely to Jews, who became worried by Marcionite teachings, yet still attended the Synagogue and did not give up entirely their loyalty to their people. Other contradictions pointed out are: the prohibition of images on the one hand, and the erection of the brass serpent on the other hand; or the pleasure and displeasure with sacrifices. There are traces of polemics against the brass serpent in sources which are certainly older than Marcion, e. g., the Wisdom of Solomon and Mishnah.[73] One of the interlocutors of Justin alleges that he tried in vain to elicit a reasonable explanation for this event from the Scribes.[74] The Matrona, mentioned above,[75] seemed to have been a serpent worshipper, a member of the sect of the Ophites, who were closely connected with the Marcionites.[76] In one of her dialogues with R. Jose ben Ḥalafta we read the assertion: My God is greater than yours![77] The opposition to the sacrifices is also older than Marcion, and the contradiction was most likely felt by previous generations. The whole question of sacrifices will be discussed in a further paragraph.

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[68] v. Marmorstein שרידים מפתרוני הקראי דניאל Budapest, p. 14f.

[69] v. ed. Davidson, l. c. p. 48.

[70] v. *Tertullian* II. 21–24.

[71] v. Marmorstein, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* I 39ff, II 102, and Juden und Judentum in der Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christianii, *Theol. Tydschrift* 49, 1915, 379.

[72] Tanḥ. b. IV. 42, Num. r. 14.1. אם יאמר לך אדם למה חילל יהושע את השבת ביריחו א"ל על פי הגבורה עשה. Similar answers are given in other instances as well, which will be discussed more fully in the second part of this essay.

(5) Next to God's ignorance and changeability the Demiurgos' envy and jealousy greatly agitated the mind of Bible-readers. A philosopher asked R. Gamaliel II: Why should God be jealous of idols, since there is nothing at all in idols? R. Gamaliel compares idolatry with a man calling his dog by his father's name, or vowing vows by the name "dog;" of whom will the father be jealous? Of the dog or the son? Thereby the philosopher tries to prove the futility of the idols.[78] Similar discussions are preserved between philosophers and the Elders in

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[73] Sap. Sol. 16.7. RH. 3.8 Freudenthal, *Alexander, Polyhistor* p. 75, Weinstein, *Genesis der Agada* p. 20, Marmorstein, Eine apologetische Mischna, *MGWJ*, 70, 1926, 376–385.

[74] v. Harnack, *Juden und Judentum im Dialoge Justins mit Trypho* p. 56.

[75] v. p. 156.

[76] v. Harnack, *Marcion*, p. 206.

[77] Ex. r. 3.16, אלהי גדול מאלהיך, scill. the serpent.

[78] Mek. 68a, b. AZ 54b.

Rome,[79] Tinäeus Rufus and R. Akiba,[80] and a general called Agrippa and Rabbi.[81] All these dialogues reecho the attitude of the pagan world. Pagans were greatly surprised at reading in the Jewish Scriptures of God's envy and jealousy, and ridiculed the announcements of Jewish propagandists, who preached the superiority of the Jewish doctrine of God. Marcion, considering his strong anti-Jewish bias, must have been greatly impressed by older anti-biblical sentiments and Jew-baiting feelings. The later Haggadah mitigated the older view.[82] God is not jealous. He is the Lord of jealousy, but the latter does not overcome him. Or, God is merciful in all circumstances, but punishes idolatry with vengeance. The dividing line between the older and the younger Tannaitic Haggadah is here clearly marked. We have here a repetition of our earlier experience as to the question, whether God tests, or tempts people. The spreading of this idea that the Demiurgos is full of petty jealousy became a most characteristic dogma of the Gnostics. By it the Minim were recognised. R. Nehemiah, a teacher of the second century, makes up a dialogue, quite usual in the old Diatribe, between God and Moses. When Israel made the calf, Moses tried to avert God's wrath, by saying: Lord of the worlds! They (Israel) provided you with an helper, and you are angry for that? The calf will assist you! You will bring forth the sun, your helper will busy himself with the moon; you with the stars, he with the planets; you will give dew, he will cause the wind to blow; you will give rain, he will hasten the growth of the plants! God replies: Moses, hast thou become a Min? There is no reality in the calf! Then, says Moses, if so, why art thou angry, O God![83] Moses, here in the dialogue, actually repeats the argument of the Gnostics. One can well imagine the impression of such a sermon in the synagogue. Other sources furnish the same Dialogue in the name of

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[79] b. AZ 54 a, f.

[80] b. BB 9a.

[81] b. AZ 55a, v. *Geonic Responsa*, ed. Cassel 40a, MRSbJ p. 105, cf. S. Krauss, *MGWJ* 49, 1905, 667f.

[82] Mek. 68a אני שולט בקנאה ואין קנאה שולטת בי, v. ibid. בקנאה אני נפרע מן ע"ז אבל רחום וחנון אני בדברים אחרים.

[83] Exod. r. 43.7.

R. Isaac, a teacher of the Amoraic period, and anonymously.[84] The problem was as actual in the third and fourth centuries, as in the second century.

(6) God hardens the heart! For this shortcoming of the God of the Jews, Marcion could find many proofs in the Bible. One can easily imagine the Rhetors in the squares and the philosophers in the streets of Tiberias and Caesarea denouncing and blaspheming the God of the Jews for hardening the tender heart of old kind Pharaoh. The sound of the speeches, delivered by gesticulating and mimicking Greeks and pseudo-Jews must have penetrated into the quiet study of R. Johanan b. Nappaḥa in Tiberias, and greatly upset his equilibrium. So much so that he exclaimed when reading Exod. 10.1: Thence the Minim found a support for their argument that God prevented him from repenting his (Pharaoh's) evil doings! Considering some of the gnostic arguments, we referred to above, and their refutation by the rabbis, we can fully appreciate this teacher's perplexity. God does not punish without giving the evildoer a chance of repentance. Here the wicked was prevented from reforming his ways and deeds! Whilst R. Johanan could find no guide in his perplexity, his colleague, R. Simeon ben Laḳish, was less disturbed. He says: Let the mouth of the Minim be closed for ever! God gives notice to a man once, twice, thrice, and he does not repent. Then he (God) prevents him from repenting, hardens his heart, in order to punish him for all his sins! The same happened with Pharaoh! God sent to him his prophets five times, and he did not take to heart God's words. Thereupon God said: Thou hast stiffened thy neck and hardened thy heart, behold I increase thy defilement upon defilement.[85] Our teacher found a scriptural evidence for this theory in Prov. 3.34 (Surely he scorneth the scorners); a later Haggadist, R. Phinehas ha-Kohen deduced it from Job 36.13 (the hypocrites in heart heap up wrath, they cry in vain when he bindeth them).[86] God waits, with great patience, for the return of the wicked! They, however, do not repent. At

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[84] Deut. r. 1.2, Num. r. 2.15, Pes. r. 46a.

[85] Exod. r. 13.4, v. also b. Sabb. 104a, Yoma 28b, Men. 29b.

[86] Exod. r. 11.2, מעין גנים ed. Buber, p. 114.

the end God *takes their heart*,[87] so that ultimately they cannot repent. Rab, a Babylonian sage, who was perhaps less affected by gnostic troubles and criticisms, repeats the older, somewhat harsher doctrine.[88] God leads the nations astray, entices them to worship idols, in order to punish them in the end. This teaching can be traced to the older Haggadah.[89] A surprising doctrine, which can be found also in older Greek theological conceptions.[90] The difference between these two trains of thought, as outlined here, is most remarkable. It is surely due to Gnostic agitation and Marcionite activities, in the third century. God is not cruel, not jealous so as to mislead people, but in his long-suffering he waits for their change of heart. Failing this, he punishes as severely as they deserve.

(7) God makes blind and deaf. It is not quite clear, what the heresiarch meant by this. Did he think of his favorite protegees of Sodom (Gen. 19.11)? or similar occurrences? We have no material to decide this question.

(8) God commits pilfering! The interlocutor, who figures under the name of Kaisar and discussed religious problems with R. Gamaliel II[91] and the twice mentioned Matrona of R. Jose b. Ḥalafta[92] paid attention to this Marcionite allegation. Both of them bluntly assert: *Your God is a thief*! Here again we find an instance of our suggestion that Gnostic, or Marcionite objections, were drawn from earlier anti-Jewish polemics. Many of the Church fathers taught that Marcion's calumnies against the Demiurgos in his Antitheses included the view that the God of the Jews induced his people to spoil the Egyptians.[93] The Antisemites of Alexandria never wearied of repeating this fact in order to defame the Jews as thieves and robbers. Such works as

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[87] lit. הכבד לבם=נוטל את לבם.

[88] b. AZ 55a.

[89] Mek. 13b, 26a.

[90] v. for a further discussion of this point, Marmorstein, Some Greek and Rabbinic Ideas of God, in the *Jewish Chronicle Literary Supplement*, Jan. 29, 1926, p. VIf.

[91] b. Sanh. 39a, *The Exempla of the Rabbis*, ed. Gaster p. 34, Midrash Abkir, ed. Marmorstein, *Dwir* I. 132.

[92] Gen. r. ch. 17, ed. Theodor p. 158, Midrash Abkir, l. c. p. 133.

[93] v. Harnack, l. c. p. 104.

the Book of Jubilees[94] and the Wisdom of Solomon[95] were forced to defend the Jews. The Talmud[96] copied from an old source a discussion, or a claim put forward by the people of Egypt and a defence of the Jews placed before Alexander the Great. The former asked for the restitution of the spoil taken by the Israelites from the Egyptians at the Exodus from the house of bondage. A man called Gebihah ben Pesisah defended, and put forward a counterclaim for wages due to the slave builders in Egypt. This defence agrees with the view of the writers of the books in the Apocrypha and later in the patristic literature.[97] All these different writers and apologists agree that the spoil was in lieu of the wages for the services and the work earned by the Israelites in Egypt. The Egyptians were still the debtors, and the Israelites were not to be blamed for their action. The reproach must have been felt very intensely by the Jews, therefore no wonder that many scribes refer to this subject.[98]

(9) God mocks! Marcion might have used Prov. 3.34 for his argument, a passage, which was by R. Simeon ben Laḳish quite appropriately applied to Gnostics and the like.[99] There were surely other passages in the Bible, known to Marcion to substantiate his blasphemies against God. R. Aḥa reports in the name of R. Samuel b. Naḥmani[100] that the phrase ישחק (mock-laugh at) occurs four times with reference to God in the books of Psalms and Proverbs.[101] As far as we know this great Haggadist was neither a lexicographer, nor a compiler of a concordance, then what did he endeavour to do by registering these four pas-

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[94] ch. 48.

[95] ch. 10.20, and ch. 12f.

[96] b. Sanh., v. also Gen. r. 61.6.

[97] v. f. i. *Coem. of Alex. Strom* I 23, a com. on the Psalms of the 6th cent. *WZKM* IX. 183, *Iren. haer.* IV. 30.

[98] R. Akiba, Mek. 14b, MRSbJ 109, Gen. r. 28.7, R. Jose ha-Gelili, Exod. r. 3.14, 14.13, 19.7, Tanḥ. f. 73a. R. Abun ha-Levi b. Rabbi, Esther r. ch. 7, Midrash in Yalḳuṭ 18.16 (R. Eleazar b. Pedat, R. Samuel b. Isaac, b. Ber. 9ab, v. also *REJ* 63, 221–215, ibid. 65.310, Bermann, *Jud. Apologetik*, p. 149.

[99] v. above p. 164.

[100] M. Ps. 2.6, ed. Buber p. 26, Yalḳuṭ Makiri Ps. 2.18: אמר הקב"ה שוחקין אלו באלו.

[101] e. g. Ps. 2.6, 37.13, 59.9, Prov. 1.26.

sages? He, surely, could not have meant to supply heretics with weapons against the Jewish doctrine of God. On the contrary, he defended it and refuted or minimized the force of their, on the surface, strong proofs of God's mocking at people. The verb does not mean *God mocks*, but God says that the wicked are laughing at one another. Another teacher, R. Isaac b. Ḥama,[102] denies altogether the possibility of such an action on God's part. All his deeds and manifestations are in holiness. God's holiness excludes the shadow of such an action, of mocking at his creatures. There must have been teachers to whom the fact that God mocks, or makes fools of sinners, was not repugnant at all. God helped the people of the generation of the Tower. They succeed by God's help in order that he may laugh at them at the end. The old idea known to us from many mythologies that the gods lead people to their destruction, in a new garb! Why does God do such a thing? In order that the wicked should not be enabled to say: "Had we built the tower, we would have ascended to heaven, and dethroned him." Well, you built the tower, and what was the result?[103] A similar thought recurs in a sermon speaking of the suspected woman. God says to her: You can mock, laugh at your husband, but not at me! I am sitting on high and am laughing at my creatures![104] A Babylonian teacher mollified this rather crude conception of God by saying, that God laughs with, and not at, his creatures, except on the day when idolatry will be judged and condemned.[105]

(10–11) God is weak! and unjust! Jews and Christians alike were taunted by heathens and Gnostics together with this argument. It is treated at some length in the present writer's *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, I. pp. 170–176, and need not be repeated here. The new aspect in Marcion's theology is, since his church shared to some extent in the persecutions and martyrdom of the Christians and Jews, that the God of the Jews is the cause of all these evils and he directs the hearts of the powers in this world against the pious. The accusations of God's injustice, making evil things and doing evil, require some further elaboration. Marcion never denied the justice of God. The known God is the δικαιος ϑεος in contradistinction to the foreign, unknown God, the αγανος ϑεος.[106] Simon Magus says to Peter that neither man nor God can be just and good at the same time.[107] Peter replies in real haggadic style: "For he is good, in that he is now long-suffering with the penitent, and welcomes them; but just when acting as a judge. He will give to everyone according to his deserts!" These sentences are repeated, almost literally, scores of times, in the folios of Rabbinic writings.[108] It is not unlikely that these dangerous denials of God's justice, and destructive teachings of God's injustice impressed the Jewish mind much more and with greater force than that of the Christians, who were not reared in this fundamental belief of Judaism. Moreover Christians themselves found fault with this teaching, the Jewish conception of reward and punishment. We noticed the remarkable fact that Mekilta and Sifre preserved eloquent testimony of the spiritual fight between Gnosis and Judaism, the attack of the former and the defence of the latter. The crisis, engendered chiefly by Marcion, threatened the whole edifice of Judaism not less than that of the Church. R. Ishmael teaches[109] that the reward of the righteous and the retribution of the wicked are alike immeasurable. The former reach the mountains of God in height, the latter the abyss in depth. R. Akiba[110] taught that God is very particular with both, the righteous as well as the wicked. He punishes the righteous for their small shortcomings in this world, and rewards their virtue in the world to come. Just the reverse with the wicked. The same teaching is given in the sermon quoted above[111] from the Sifre.[112] There it is anonymous, here the name of the teacher is mentioned. The view is often repeated and was favored by many Haggadists.[113] The teachers essay to reconcile God's justice with his goodness. Both are shown to just and wicked alike; both share, according to R. Akiba and his followers, reward and punishment. A teaching was current that God does not withhold from any creature his reward.[114] Yet we learn that God measures, or is particular with, the deeds of the righteous to a hair's breadth.[115] It was not easy to balance between two extreme views. One insisted on God's one-sided and pedantic justice, the other extended his goodness to the utmost limits. Neither actually agrees with daily experiences, with the brighter and shadowy colours of human existence!—there must be a middle course. To find the same is almost impossible. Yet, a healthy way of thinking was to be found here, as well as in other exasperating perplexities!

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[102] pal. Ber. 13a, Tanḥ. b. קדושים Y. M. Ps. l.c., Y. M. l. c., Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* I, p. 214.

[103] Tanḥ. b. נח 18, Ps. 2.16.

[104] Tanḥ. b. נשא 9, Ps. 2.17.

[105] b. AZ 3a: עם בריותיו משחק על בריותיו אינו משחק אלא אותו היום בלבד. The first version gives the sentence in the name of R. Isaac.

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[106] v. Harnack, l. c. p. 86ff.

[107] *Clem. Hom.* XVIII. 2.

[108] Torat Kohanim (Sifra) 82b. דין ליפרע ונאמן לשלם שכר v. also 71a, 75a, R. Eleazar b. Azarya says: אני דיין אני מלא רחמים v. 74a, and several other passages, v. also Sifre Zutta, *MGWJ*, 1900, 220.

[109] Lev. r. 271.1 הצדיקים שעושין את התורה שניתנה מהררי אל הקב"ה עושה עמהן צדקה כהררי אל, אבל רשעים שאין עושין את התורה שניתנה מהררי אל הקב"ה מדקדק עמהם כתהום רבה. v. also Pesiḳta.

[110] ibid. ר' עקיבא אומר אלו ואלו מדקדק עמהן הקב'ה הצדיקים גובה מהן מיעט מעשים רעים שעשו בעוה"ז בשביל ליתן להם שכר טוב לעתיד לבא ומשפיע שלום לרשעים ומשלם להם מיעוט מעשים טובים שעשו בעוה"ז כדי להפרע מהם לע"ל.

(12–13) How can God be good, since he made evil things? Moreover, he himself does evil! He, the creator of the world, made bad things and made the bad things badly. Gnostics never stopped finding fault with the Demiurgos. We have already seen the rabbis at work dealing with their opponents' questions. The physical man is not a failure, his creation is perfect.[116] Tertullian and others mention among other pusillitates of the Creator ridiculed by Marcion, the creation of small, stupid insects. It must be in view of these Gnostics and other enemies of the Bible that some preachers uttered an often repeated saying: Even those things, which seem to you superfluous in the creation (world), e. g. flies, etc., are part of the creation, and act as God's messengers.[117] The Prophet Elijah asked R. Nehorai, who was contemporary with the originator of the previous apology, about the purpose served by their creation. R. Nehorai says: When people sin, God looks at these insects, and says: 'They are useless things, yet I do preserve them! Men, who might become righteous, how much more should they not, as they deserve, be utterly destroyed!' "[118] The same interlocutor asked of the same scribe about the origin of and the reason for earthquakes. It seems that Elijah acted in both dialogues as the mouthpiece of gnostic arguments and heresies.[119] The two cases are, naturally, different from each other. The first, the creation of insects, illustrates the *making* of bad or evil things, the second, the earthquake, shows God as *doing* evil. Marcion's theology was so bitter against the *conditor malorum*,[120] no wonder that the scribes had to pay close attention to such views and opinions, most harmful to the believer.

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[111] v. p. 150

[112] Deut. § 306. כשם שמשלם שכר צדיק גמור שכר בעולם הזה לעולם הבא כך משלם לרשע גמור שכר מצוה קלה שעשה בעוה"ז, וכשם שנפריע מרשע גמור מעבירה שעשה בעוה"ז לעוה"ב כך נפרע מצדיק גמור על עבירה שעשה בעה"ז.

[113] v. pal. Ta'anit 65, Pes. Buber p. 161b, M. Ps. ed. Buber p. 436. R. Samuel b. Naḥmani מאריך רוחו עם הרשעים ונותן להם מיעוט מעשים טובים שעשו בעוה"ז, ומאריך רוחו עם הצדיקים וגובה מהם מיעוט מעשים רעים שעשו בעוה"ז, וחזר ונותן להם שלוה. v. also ibid. p. 374. Some texts ascribe the authorship of this saying to R. Jonathan b. Eliezer, further b. Sanh. 96a, and Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits*, s. v. Gentiles, merits of.

[114] v. b. BK 38b, Nazir 23a, Hor. 16a, Deut. r. ed. Buber p. 23, Mid. Agada, ed. Buber p. 123.

[115] v. Tanḥ. ed. Buber, Introduction p. 132. Pes. r. p. 115, Seder El. r. p. 3, b. Jebamot 121b, b. BK 50a, pal. Shek. 48d, pal. Beza 62b, Lam. R. p. 65. v. also Ginzberg, *Geonica* II 50, 1. 11, etc.

[116] v. above pp. 146 ff.

The whole Bible was ransacked by Marcion to establish the evildoings of the Demiurgos. It cannot be only accidental that Marcion as well as the preachers of the Synagogue group together the generations of the flood, of the tower, Sodom and Gomorrah, Pharaoh, Sisera, Nebukadnezzar, Sennacherib, and others. We saw already once, or twice, the inner connection between Gnosis and Haggadah on this point.[121] Here we turn to two homilies, one ascribed to R. Eleasar, the son of R. Jose, the Galilean,[122] and the other to one of the latest Palestinian Haggadists, R. Tanḥuma.[123] The first is based on Deut. 32.34. The word כמוס means that the cup of chastisement is preserved with God for those who despise, ridicule, laugh at the words of the Torah. One drop is missing. The aforenamed wicked people drank some of it, some part of the same is left for all the generations till the resurrection. There is no healing for the nations, yet there will be for Israel. What does all this mean? The Midrash Tannaim furnishes some variants and supplements the shorter version of the Sifre. None of the textual means at our disposal suffices to remove the many obscurities darkening this ancient homily. The long list of peoples, who cruelly suffered at the hand of the conditor malorum makes it imperative to look here for some defence of calumnies brought forward against Biblical doctrines. Those sufferers tasted merely a part of their well-deserved punishment. It was a mere drop, and not the full measure of their deserts due to their wickedness. God is good, even in the hour of punishment. Again the incompatibility between justice and goodness, coupled with the view of the evildoing of the Creator. The mutual relation of these two attributes crops up again and again. R. Eliezer ben R. Jose ha-Gelili surely felt very strongly the harmful ascendancy exercised by Marcion's well aimed criticism of the Bible. He was a very prominent teacher after the Bar Kokba war. Agitators and writers did not appeal in vain to the cruelly defeated victims of Rome in their critical hour of disappointment and despair. The combined effects of political helplessness and spiritual agitation made themselves strongly felt among the Galilean Jews. Bearing these facts in mind, we are better able to throw light on our teacher's homilies. Once he said: One may utter a part of God's praise in addressing him directly, and his whole praise in speaking of him indirectly. The proof for the first half of the sentence is adduced from Ps. 26.3: "Say unto God: How terrible art thou in thy works." That implies God's justice. This is only a part of his praise. The second proof, Ps. 136.1, comprises the whole of God's praise, namely his goodness, his mercy, that endureth for ever. The terrible works of justice are in complete harmony with God's everlasting mercy.[124] He preserved also in another place a nice piece of gnostic dogmatics and exegesis which must be discussed here. God gives blessing and curse, treats equally the doers of good and evil, sinner and righteous.[125] In other words, considering God's justice divorced from the conception of goodness, there would be no difference between good and evil, curse and blessing, righteousness and sin. Marcion was the forerunner of Nietzche in preaching the gospel of the *Umwertung der Werte*. Let us analyse now the homily of our scribe. Gen. 4.7 (if thou doest well, thou shalt not be accepted, if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door), Prov. 18.21 (death and life are in the power of the tongue, and they that love it shall eat the fruit thereof), and Prov. 11.31 (the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth, much more the wicked and the sinner). The actual arguments of the heretics are not repeated. They are alluded to in the way of the Haggadic diatribe by the words מי לחשך which agrees with the later אם יאמר לך אדם.[126] These three passages, apparently, have been put together to demonstrate that under the rule of the world creator, and under his peculiar sense of justice, there is practically a world of difference between good and evil, virtue and sin, piety and wickedness. All are treated alike. The theories advanced and developed by R. Ishmael and R. Akiba are of no practical value. R. Eli'ezer proves from Deut. 11.26, Prov. 14.14, and Prov. 16.4 that those, who do well, will share blessing, the doers of evil will be cursed; both depend on man's relation to God, on his obedience or disobedience to the word of God; lovers of good and evil will eat the fruits of *their* lips, guard thy tongue from evil, turn away from evil, and do good; and, finally, the Lord has done all things for himself, yea, even the wicked for the day of evil. Yet, there is a difference between good and evil. God in his justice combines mercy with Law.

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[117] Gen. r. ch. 19, ed. Theodor p. 80 אפילו דברים שאתה רואה כולן יתירים לברייתו של עולם כגון פרעושים יתושים זבובין אף הן בכלל ברייתו של עולם ובכל הקב"ה עושה שליחתו. Lev. r. 22.1, Eccl. r. 5.8, M. Eccl. Zutta 104, Exod. r. 10, Tanḥ. וחקת, Num. r. 18.22, b. Sabb. 77b. The saying is quoted in the name of the Rabbanan; placed next to R. Judah b. Ilai and R. Nehemiah, the date cannot be later than the second half of the 2nd cent., the critical period of Marcionite influence.

[118] pal. Ber. 13c, M. Ps. 18.12, ed. Buber p. 142, Seder El. r., ch. 1, ed. Friedmann p. 51.

[119] pal. Ber. ibid. M. Ps. pp. 104, 141, 446.

[120] v. Harnack, l. c. p. 95.

[121] v. above pp. 149, 158 f.

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[122] Sifre Deut. § 324, Mid. Tannaim p. 200, M. Ps. 75, 4.

[123] Mid. Psalms, ch. 18, ed. Prag, 16d.

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[124] Sifre Num. § 10. מצינו שאומרים מקצת שבחו של מי שאמר והיה העולם שנ' אמרו לאלהים כי נורא מעשיך עם אומרים מקצת שבחו של מי שאמר והיה העולם ק'ו לבו"ד. The text has to be completed by means of Gen. r. 32.3 אבל שלא בפניו אומר הודו as above in the text. Religious scruples induced the writer to omit אבל שלא בפניו.

[125] Sifre Dt. § 54, Midr. Tannaim p. 46, Yalḳ. Mak. Ps. 24.19 and 18.21.

[126] The full phrase is still to be found in b. Ber. 7b, 8a, Meg. 6b, אם לחשך אדם לומר בני אל תתחר וכו' Num. r. 6.2, M. Ps. 57a.

We have a third homily of R. Eli'ezer b. R. Jose ha-Gelili which has a bearing on Marcion's Antitheses. Marcion, we learned, liked to compare the unworthiness of God's friends with the worthiness of God's enemies. Our Tannaite does the same in an opposite direction. He adduces a list of Biblical personages, who show humility; their humility increases the more they are exalted, e. g., Abraham, Moses, Aaron, and David,[127] not so Nimrod, Pharaoh, Sennacherib, Nebukadnezzar, and Hiram. God invested them with greatness, magnified them, and finally they rebelled.[128] What did our Tannaite mean by this Antithesis?[129] His teaching can be understood and illustrated by contemporary heretical doctrines. These sayings of R. Eli'ezer b. R. Jose ha-Gelili are really masterpieces of Haggadic lore. No wonder that R. Johanan b. Nappaḥa, a special *connoisseur* of literary documents, drew his hearers' attention to the words of this master of religious thought.

We bridge over the centuries between this teacher and one of the latest great Haggadic teachers of Palestine. The centuries which elapsed between the former and the latter left many traces of the changes caused by the ages and the men who lived and toiled in them. They altered thoughts and feelings. The chief idea expressed by R. Tanḥuma is at once remarkable and surprising. All the wars, we are told, which Israel fought in the past will be renewed in the future, all the proud ones will be severely punished, by fire. Then the whole list from the generations of the flood till Edom is repeated. God is not the conditor malorum but the wicked have to thank themselves for their fate.

(14) We arrive at the second group of arguments against the divine attributes. Some repetitions and other obscurities must be overlooked. It is difficult to guess what Marcion meant by God "desires the fruitful hill." The objections to God's dwelling in a tabernacle, his fondness for fat and sacrifices, and his pleasure

[127] v. Gen. 18.27, Ex. 16.7, Ps. 22.7.

[128] Gen. 11.4, Ex. 5.2, II K. 18.25, Is. 14.14, Ez. 28.2.

[129] b. Ḥullin 89a, R. Johanan in his name.

in candles and candlesticks, are often pointed out. They are by no means new, nor have the scribes allowed them to pass without some defence of their own. The LXX altered the words and expounded the text of II Chron. 6.2, saying: I built a house for thy name, which is ready for thy veneration during all generations to come.[130] The sanctuary is erected not for God, but for humanity's sake. The philosopher Zeno spoke with the greatest contempt of those, who build sacred edifices for the Godhead. For, how can a building be sacred, which is erected by builders and human labourers?[131] Scepticism penetrated into Jewish circles in Palestine, and was by no means limited to the Greek-speaking Jews of the Diaspora. Such views find ready ears among Jews as well as non-Jews, in antiquity as well as today. A number of Tannaites and Amoraim turned their attention to this question. We begin with R. Tarfon, who taught that the presence of the Shekinah in the Tabernacle was a reward for the pious work done by the workmen, a blessing for the work accomplished for heaven's sake.[132] The Temple was not built to supply God with an abode, a dwelling-place, but to make Israel worthy of receiving the Shekinah. Just as the teacher in Lydda, so his pupil in Usha devoted thought to this problem. R. Judah b. Ilai teaches in close agreement with Alexandrinian theology that the tabernacle was erected for Israel's honour, and not for God's need.[133] R. Simeon ben Joḥai was also led by apologetic tendencies when he preached that the building of the tent of appointment was the completion of the world creation. Up till then the whole existence of the world was doubtful. It became firm and well established by the erection of the tabernacle. He surely wanted to convey the idea that the tabernacle was for the sake of the whole world but not for God.[134] The opposition must have grown stronger and stronger during the next centuries. Haggadists more frequently recur to this subject. R. Johanan b. Nappaḥa rather dramatically depicts the surprised and astonished Moses, when he heard the commandments respecting the building of the tabernacle, the sacrifices and the Half Shekel.[135] How can God desire an earthly abode, when the heavens, and all the heights cannot contain him? They put here in the mouth of Moses the question which was raised by Marcion and his successors. R. Levi likens the building of the tabernacle and the dwelling of the Shekinah therein to a cave at the shore of the sea. The cave is filled with water, yet the sea does not lack a drop of its contents. God's glory is not diminished by His dwelling in the Temple.[136] The Haggadah served, perhaps, in the first instance, the purpose of reconciling the doctrine of God's omnipresence with His dwelling in a certain sacred place. Yet, it also refuted the conception that God needed a dwelling-place. These instances, which can easily be multiplied, will suffice to show heretical influence on the Jews in the third century, and how it was met on the part of the teachers by more or less strong refutations.

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[130] v. Dähne, *Gesch. Darstellung* II 46, v. also I K. 8.53, v. also Jos. Antt. 8.4.

[131] *Plutarch* VI.1, *Diog*. VII. 33.

[132] Abot RN, ed. Schechter p. 45 אף הקב"ה לא השרה שכינתו על ישראל עד שעשו מלאכה.

[133] Pes. b. 2a, M. Cant. r. 3.9, Num. r. 13. The Tanna refers in his parable to a custom (Jewish or pagan?) that a father does not talk to his own daughter in public, in a square or a thoroughfare, after she is grown up, but he makes a *pupilio* (פפליון) for her.

(15) It can not be in the least surprising that the problem of sacrifices was coupled in R. Joḥanan's aforecited sermon, or legend with that of the tabernacle. Both are catalogued next to each other in the long list of God's sins. The conception and the laws of sacrifices were a difficult problem for the Rabbinic apologists and theologians from more than one point of view. Contemporary philosophy abhorred sacrifices, mocked at their cruel uselessness, and saw in them an abomination of a strange survival of primitive religious aberration. The masses never ceased to adhere to this practice; leaders of thought performed them in spite of their better knowledge and prominent men of affairs,

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[134] R. Joshua ben Levi in his name, Pes. b. 6a, v. also 7a. להקים את המשכן לא נאמר אלא הוקם המשכן, מה הוקם עמו עולם הוקם עמו שעד שלא הוקם המשכן היה העולם רותת משהוקם המשכן נתבסס העולם.

[135] Pes. b. 20z, Pes. r. 84b, Tanḥ. נשא. Num. r. M. Ps. 91, Pes. r. 19a, v. sub. R. Levi further on p. 177, Ex. r. 34.1, and Midrash of R. Shemaya of Soissons, *MGWJ*. XIII 226.

[136] Pes. b. 2b; R. Joshua of Shiknim in R. Levi's name.

notwithstanding their disbelief in sacrifices, attended worship and stood in solemn silence or prayer at these ceremonies; yet, generally speaking, offerings of this type lost their hold on the large masses! Among the Jews there must have been masses, who were disquieted by this way of religious worship. Yet, the vast majority of the people felt the cessation of sacrifices after the destruction of the Temple, much more deeply than one would be inclined to believe. Prominent scribes had to comfort pious souls, who thought themselves lost in their sins, and defiled by impurity without sacrifices! Charity is much greater than sacrifices! Before God, your Father in Heaven, do you cleanse yourselves! He grants your atonement. Study, prayer, good deeds, fasts, etc., are worthy substitutes for them. These theories were advanced, very often repeated and varied, and further developed as answers to questions raised by well-meaning as well as taunting people, which deeply moved Jews, and shook the foundations of the whole fabric of Jewish piety. Christians went even a step further. The abolition of sacrifices, piety independent of priests and Temple, sacrifices and cults, encouraged them to claim the abolition of Sabbath, circumcision, dietary law, etc. The Law can be respected and observed without all of them. These theories and problems, and their handling and refutation occupy a considerable space in the Haggadah. They are the background of many teachings and sayings, which can here merely be hinted at. The present paper is chiefly concerned with the gnostic attitude toward sacrifices, and the stand against *it* taken by the Scribes.

The performance of sacrifices ceased with the destruction of the Temple. Whether some sects, or over-zealous Jews still practised this mode of religious worship afterwards, or renewed it in later centuries, cannot be established with our present scanty knowledge of the subject. We have no records to decide this point in the affirmative as far as the third century is concerned. Yet, many of the teachers living at that time turned to defend this institution. R. Johanan used a legend for this purpose.[137] His friend, R. Simeon ben Laḳish must have met, or heard of people who argued from the commandments about the sacrifices that God needs food and drink. That is the reason for sacrifices and libations. His reply must have been somewhat like this:[138] Look at Moses, who stayed with God for 40 days and 40 nights, let him give evidence, whether God needs food! According to a second version, R. Simeon ben Laḳish answered: Look at Moses, who is a human being; when he is among you he requires food and drink, yet when he spent those days and nights with me he neither ate nor drank; how could one assert of God that he is in need of food?[139] There are several other refutations in the same strain based on Ps. 10.12, denying the same erroneous conception.[140] Another, a somewhat younger teacher, R. Judah b. Pazzi, develops and applies an earlier defence to our case.[141] God does not require offerings, candles, sanctuaries, food and drink. They were not ordered for his own sake, but for the benefit of humanity, to purify them, to give them opportunities to acquire merits, make them fit for the Shekinah to rest on them, and to draw them near to their father in Heaven.[142] Most interesting is the position taken by R. Levi, a great Haggadist of this age. On the one hand, he can not find appropriate words for putting the importance of sacrifices in its proper light. God loves very much indeed Israel's sacrifices;[143] they are Israel's benefactors and defenders.[144] Yet, on the other hand, he is as well aware as the author of the Pseudo-Clementine works,[145] as in later centuries Maimonides,[146] or nowadays any student of the history of religions, that sacrifices were a temporary measure adapted to the needs of Moses' pupils.[147] Moses allowed sacrifices as a concession to people, who were steeped in idolatry and blinded by that form of religious worship in their surroundings. He centralised sacrificial worship, in order to alienate Israel from the idols. With our scanty means it is difficult to establish whether the former or the latter view, expresses the final thought of our great teacher. The latter, surely, sheds greater lustre on his name and memory, according to our way of thinking. One fact, a very important one, it seems to me, can be adduced with certainty from R. Levi's attitude as well as from the sayings of the other teachers, of those who are named here as well as of those not mentioned here by name, that all of them must have heard of voices raised against the sacrifices. More than two hundred years elapsed since the actuality of the whole question passed away, yet their origin, the meaning and the religious influence of these sacrifices was still a matter of lively disputes and antagonistic contentions.[148] Why? Because the teaching of God and the place of the Bible in both religions, in that of the Catholic Church as well as in the Jewish Synagogue, went through one of their most dangerous crises. The agreement between R. Levi and the Clementines is more than a blind coincidence. R. Levi, on his part, may be more or less indebted to Alexandrian wisdom—his Haggadah as a whole favours such an opinion. The Clementines, on their part again, may not be immune from Palestinian teachings — this suggestion can also be supported. The agreement is, all the same, most striking. The same is the case with R. Judah b. Simon ben Pazzi and the Clementines. Both group together the alleged needs of God in pointing out: tabernacles, sacrifices and light. Could that be accidental, or, is there not more in such a coincidence? The Amora must have faced the same people, against whom the Church Fathers were arrayed on the common battleground. Naturally, they fight with different tactics and in a different style and language.

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[137] v. above p. 175.

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[138] Pes. r. 194a, כי בהר סיני קרבו קרבנות? אלא אמר הקב"ה אם באת להרהר שמא יש אכילה לפני, הרי משה שעלה להר סיני ועשה אצלי מ' יום ומ' לילה יבא משה ויעידני עם יש לפני אכילה.

[139] ibid. 184a.

[140] ibid. 184a.

[141] v. above p. 174.

[142] Lev. r. 30.12.

[143] Pes. b. 192b.

[144] Pes. r. 201b.

[145] *Rec. of Clem.* I 36, *Hom.* II 46, Diestel, *Das AT in der Kirche*, p. 52, Schliemann, *Die Clementinen* p. 222.

[146] Moreh III 32, J. Oppenheim, האסיף Vi. 1894, 102.

[147] Lev. r. 22.5.

(16) Tabernacles, Sacrifices and Light! This trio of commandments was a stumbling-block in the eyes of Marcion. The last question of the lights plays a more prominent part in the Rabbinic sources than the previous ones. It will be necessary to enumerate

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[148] v. Marmorstein, The Existence of God, *Jewish Forum*, Jan. 1924, p. 16–26, and *Jeshurun*, VII 1920, Nos. 1–4, *Expositor*, Jan. 1919, p. 104f.

here the views and contentions more fully than on the earlier occasions. R. Judah bar Ilai demonstrates the absurdity of the belief that God needs light. He points out the impossibility of man looking into the sun—a favoured argument in Rabbinic theology—and man would assert that God requires light?[149] The lights were ordered for man's sake, to acquire a share in future life. R. Simeon ben Joḥai saw in the candlesticks, dietary law (clean and unclean beasts), and in the sanctification of the New Moon the three difficulties, which shocked Moses.[150] Turning to the Amoraic Haggadah, there is first of all R. Johanan b. Nappaḥa, who rejects the allegation that God needs light. The candles wanted by the Law cannot be explained just as the faculty of man, or his use of his eyes cannot be fathomed.[151] R. Aḥa[152] compares the commandment of the light (Num. 8.2) with Ps. 139.12 (darkness and light are both alike to thee). God, thou art light, thy garments are light, thy servants are beings of light, the whole world enjoys light from thy glory, and thou commandest us to kindle light? What is our light before Thee? Nevertheless I do not, says God, want any but yours. The light is a sign of God's love of them. A similar idea is expressed by R. Berechiah[153] and many anonymous preachers![154] In an anonymous homily Dan. 2.22 and Ps. 139.12 are quoted to show that

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[149] Tanḥ. b. II 98 השמש הזה נתון בחיקו (א"ל בנרתיקו) ובתקופת תמוז הוא יוצא מנרתיקו לבשל את הפירות. ואין בעולם יכול לעמוד בו, למה שהוא קשה באורו אמר הקב"ה בבריה שלי אי אתה יכול להסתכל בו ואני צריך לאורו משלך אלא למה אמרתי לך לעה"ב. v. also Tanḥ. b. ibid. in an anonymous homily.

[150] Pes. b. 54b, Tanḥ. b. IV.46, b. Men. 29a, Mek. Tanḥ. III, Pes. r.

[151] Tanḥ. b. Ex. p. 97, העין הזה לבנה, והשחור באמצע, מהיכן הוא צריך לראות, לא מן הלבנה, ואינו כן, אינו רואה אלא מתוך השחור, ועל אור עינים אין אתה יכול לעמוד, ואתה מבקש לעמוד על דרכי, שלא יטעה אותך יצרך לומר שמא צריך הוא אורה. For a similar way of argument v. R. Huna, Gen. r. 12.1 הרעם הזה בשעה שהוא יוצא כתקונו אין כל בריה יכולה לעמוד עליו, וכו' אם על סדורו של רעם אין אתה יכול לעמוד על סדורו של עולם עאכו"כ. v. also R. Ḥanina, Tanḥ. IV. 48.

[152] Tanḥ. b. IV.49, Num. r. 15.8 without the name of the Haggadist, who is mentioned in the Midrash ha-Gadol, MS Adler.

[153] Tanḥ. b. IV. 48, אמר הקב"ה איני צריך לאור שלכם, ולמה אמרתי לכם אלא כדי להעלותך.

[154] Tanḥ. b. IV. 49 ואני צריך לאור שלכם ? אלא בשביל לעלותך. Tanḥ. b. II. 98 להודיעך שאינו צריך אורה, למה אמר לך, בשביל לזכותך למאור, introduced by שלא יטעך יצרך לומר צריך הוא אורה.

God does not need light. The reason for this law is, therefore, to be looked for somewhere else, e. g., Is. 42.21. God gave this as well as other laws as an opportunity for Israel to acquire merit.[155] Another theory saw the secret of this law in God's endeavour to distinguish Israel before the whole world. The people Israel are so exalted that they were chosen to serve as light-bearers before God.[156] R. Abin ha-Levi, in his mystic way of thinking, saw in the sanctuary the source supplying light to the whole world. Light comes from God's House, how can one assert that God needs light? Light is needed by humanity, not by Him, who is Light Himself.[157] These sermons and sayings centre around the false allegation: God needs light! That God is, or ought to be, free from want and need, was well known to philosophers and theologians before the Christian Era, therefore, we can well imagine, how Marcion used these passages and laws for his theories, and what impression their ridiculing propaganda made on Jews and Christians alike. For this very reason scribes and teachers in the 2nd and 3rd centuries had to discuss this topic in the pulpit.

(17–18) The statements that God dwells in shadow, darkness, storms, and smoke, and comes with trumpets, etc. are directed against Biblical passages which were understood in their literal sense by Marcion and his followers. They really belong in a treatise on the anthropomorphism and anthropopathism in the Haggadah, and will be treated fully in another connection.

(19) Owing to Marcion's pacifism and hatred of war Ex. 15.3 and other passages in which God plays the role of a War God, are severely criticised and strongly repudiated. R. Judah b. Ilai remarks: The chief idea of this verse recurs very frequently in the Scriptures. He quotes six proofs from Psalms, Isaiah and Habakkuk.[158] Yet, God does not want all these weapons and

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[155] Tanḥ. b. IV. 48 להודיעך שכולו אור ואינו צריך לאורה משלך ולמה צויתי אתכם בשביל לזכותכם.

[156] Tanḥ. b. IV.49 א"ל הקב"ה לא שאני צריך לאורכם אלא שתאירו לי כמו שהארתי לכם כדי לעלות אתכם בפני כל האומות.

[157] Tanḥ. II 97, באור יוצא מתוך ביתי, ואני צריך לאורה? וא"ת למה צריך לנר? להאיר לנו.

[158] Ps. 18.11, Is. 59.17, Ps. 45.4, Hab. 3.9, Ps. 35.2, Hab. 3.11 (so MRSbJ), Mek. has in addition II Sam. 22, Ps. 91.

darts, he carries out his decrees with his Name.[159] The Mekilta preserved a number of homilies on this subject, all of them seem to be directed against heretical arguments. In one of them there is an unmistakable reference to Gnostics, who speak of two powers, i. e., the God of war, and the other God, who revealed the Decalogue. Both are the same. Preachers took the opportunity to emphasize God's might, unchangeability, love, and providence.[160] Special attention has to be called to the form of these theological doctrines, which could be called Tannaitic Antitheses.

(20) Finally, we turn to Marcion's twice repeated thesis that God loves the wicked, adulterers, and murderers, and chooses evil men. A commentary to these words is offered by the writer of the Clementine homilies and by Marcion himself. Peter[161] denies that Adam was a transgressor, Noah drunken, that Abraham lived with three wives at once, and Jacob associated with four, that Moses was a murderer. There can be no doubt that these "sins of the saints," which go back to the letter of the Bible, reecho the Antitheses of Marcion and the Syllogisms of Appelles in 38 books, all lost. In such a company the robber Joshua, the impious Lot and his daughters, the adulterers David and Solomon, could not be missed. It seems to me that an anonymous teacher, whose date I am unable to fix, knew of both: the sharp attack against the Scripture, and the clumsy denial of the latter. He makes God say:[162] Adam is a thief, Noah a drunkard, Abraham a stranger, Isaac loved God's enemies, Jacob is the right man. The sins of Abraham and Jacob, their polygamy, plays a considerable part in Jewish apologetics of the first three centuries. R. Judah b. Ilai and R. Nehemiah, who as our previous observations will confirm, must have had more intimate knowledge of Bible criticism, than they are generally credited with, both take great pains to identify

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[159] Mek. 37b, MRSbJ 61 without the name of the Tanna.

[160] MRSbJ p. 66 has a fuller list of these Antitheses than Mek. 37b, some of them also MRSbJ p. 61. Both are derived from an older collection, which was probably still known to the preachers of the Amoraic period.

[161] II. 52.

[162] Tanḥ. b. III 72f. v. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, p. 214.

Keturah with Hagar.[163] The fact that Jacob married two sisters, and lived with four wives was also mitigated, or explained away. Moses did not murder the Egyptians with ordinary weapons, but by pronouncing the Divine Name.[164] Even Lot's and his daughters' deed found apologists in the Synagogue as well as in the Church.[165] David as well as Solomon have had to bear the brunt of attack and blame for their sins and iniquities, which fill many pages of haggadic literature. The biographies of saints and the wicked of the Bible, as depicted and illuminated by the teachers of the Haggadah, must be investigated under this point of view. This can be done under the light thrown on them by Gnostics on one side, Church Fathers on the other side. We are, here, concerned with the background furnished by the former. Such investigations would reveal clearly the religious and intellectual conditions in the period in which our material was first used.

V

These studies essay to illuminate the background of the Haggadah. The latter represents a whole world of thoughts and beliefs, some of them ephemeral, others eternal, standing and changing through the tempest of centuries. Original thoughts, borrowed ideas, mystic and magic observances, strange rites, religious development and decay, are put together, sometimes without stops and breaks. The external form corresponds to the inner contents. There are proper rhetorical rules in some, no order in others, similies and phrases familiar to the unlearned with sayings and forms of speech derived from the Academy and Stoa, learned anecdotes and popular proverbs next to each other.

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[163] Gen. r. 61.4.

[164] v. Ps.-Jonathan targum on Ex. 2.13.

[165] v. Gen. r. 41.7; 51.9, M. Ps. 75.4, Pirḳe ch. 25, Yalḳ. Dt. § 808, AB of Ben Sirach 6b, 2 *Pet.* V. 6, *Clem.* ch. XI, *Qoran*, Sura 6. further b Nazir 23a in the name of רבא or R. Isaac, Gen. r. has the same by R. Tanḥuma b. Ḥiyya in the name of R. Hoshaya. Further Ag. Ber. ch. 25, r. בכל שנה ושנה inst. of כל שבת ושבת, v. *Bet Talmud* III 335 *MEDZ* ed. Buber p. 3, Wisdom of Solom. 10.6, Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sagenkunde*, p. 175, *Magazin* 1893, 253f.

Heresies due to striving for religious enlightenment and purity against fanaticism and hypocrisy born out of hierarchic lust and mediocre bullying darken and enliven its pages. We are concerned mainly with the latter point. Our inquiry arises out of curiosity. How far did a mind like Marcion's influence Judaism? Our material leaves no doubt that the great teachers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries faced people, who, more or less, were under the spell of the Marcionite way of thinking. They were the Minim, who, either entirely or partly, severed their connections with the Synagogue. Socially or economically, they could not be separated from members of the community, or from their own family. Teachers and preachers used to have disputes or discussions with them. Some of these took rather an unfriendly shape, e. g. in the case of R. Meir, or in that of R. Joshua ben Levi. Considering the nature of their questions and their attitude towards Jews, one cannot, in the Minim of the early time (up to the 3rd cent.) and in special places where Christians were not to be found at all, see Christians (Jewish or Gentile). Jews, who were imbued with Gnostic doctrines, are known by the name of Minim. Most, if not all of the teachers mentioned in the previous pages, came into contact with people, who inclined to the way of the Minim. About thirty Tannaites and Amoraim named in the previous chapters supply a part of the problems, which agitated the minds of Minim and Scribes. Their list could be greatly enlarged. Yet, our purpose, to show Marcionite influence and to recognize a part of the Haggadic background can be better demonstrated by investigating the anonymous Haggadah, and the teachings of the Haggadists whose names became familiar to us in our present investigation. This leads us to point out a second aspect of the Haggadah, which has, according to my knowledge, not yet been fully investigated.

VI

DIATRIBE AND HAGGADA

(1) The Greek word διατριβη has many meanings. In rhetoric it signifies an "occasion for dwelling on a subject" (Arist. *Rhet.* 3.17). The addresses and speeches of Cynics and Stoics

developed the diatribe into an art. The best representatives of those schools used it in speech and written word. In reading E. Norden's, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (2 vol. Leipzig 1895) I was struck by the new light, which the investigations of that scholar throw on the style of the Haggadah. This impression became even greater in studying Rudolf Bultmann's: *Der Stil der paulinischen Briefe und die Kynisch-Stoische Diatribe* (Göttingen, 1910). It amounts almost to a platitude to emphasize the fact that the inner content of a literary work cannot be properly understood without understanding its external form. Still, in our studies and researches up till now, the latter has been more or less neglected. It is customary to ignore or to deny style, form and beauty in the literary productions of the scribes, in their homilies and sermons, their parables and similies, their thoughts or teachings. The inner meaning is the chief thing, the external form is of no consequence. The history and the state of preservation of our literature, which is partly fragmentary, and partly sketchy, apparently confirms such a belief. This, however, is an erroneous view! The Haggadah has a style of its own, worth studying. The preachers and teachers, whose immortal names are entombed in the Haggadah of the two Talmuds and the Midrashim, developed a homiletical style, which is not much behind that of the masters of oratory in Latin and Greek. We are told, frequently, that educated and intellectual circles among the heathens of the first centuries, looked somewhat commiseratively on the barbarism of the Gospels. Learned and wise pagans treated rather with contumely the sacred writings of Early Christianity. This is not surprising at all. The Gospels in Greek must have struck them, as far as style and language go, as strange, or foreign to their literary taste. I am not aware of having read anything similar of the Hebrew Bible. The Haggadah, properly searched and studied, offers a lucid object-lesson in the similarities between the style of the diatribe and the homilies of the Scribe.

It is too premature at the present stage of our knowledge to decide the question, whether, or how far the Rabbinic preachers actually were indebted to the diatribe of Stoics and Cynics. This question will have to be answered, one way or another. Really, it is part and parcel of a much larger, and more important problem, which has to be tackled, and answered either in the affirmative, or in the negative. I mean, the traces of external, secular knowledge possessed by the Scribes, their relation to Greek wisdom and science. Apart from the comparative point of view, the study of the haggadic style opens many new aspects of the inner meaning of some otherwise obscure sayings and sentences, forms and ways of our homilies. These enable us to listen to the living voice of the ages, to objections raised to teachings and legends, to criticisms made against exegesis and theology expounded from the pulpit, to abuse and ridicule heaped on the religion and history of the Jews by heathens and Christians, by believers and unbelievers, by masters and pupils. Being aware of the form of speech, we are enabled to revive many a long-forgotten historical fact, and reconstruct some intellectual movements, which are otherwise lost in the deep sea of the ages passed. Scientific research of the ancient documents of our literature cannot forego the investigation of the external forms of the material at our disposal.

(2) One of the most usual forms of the diatribe is to introduce dialogues between two parties in a speech. The speaker, or writer, steps into the background, he develops his *own* ideas by constructing a dialogue, between two, or more, different persons. The dialogue in the Haggadah has not been studied under this point of view. Its part and importance in Jewish theology and apologetics has not yet been pointed out, as was done in Christian theology and apologetics, where learned works are at the students' disposal. It cannot be done in this short essay. Yet, two or three facts should here be pointed out. First of all the dialogues between God and the Keneset Israel (כנסת ישראל). Some instances will suffice for it. Illustration: R. Johanan b. Nappaḥa depicts in a parable a king who had in his service two ill-famed quaestors. These were made use of by him if he wanted to chastise a rebellious province. Once a province became restless. The king dispatched one of them to this place. When the people heard this, they entreated him: Whatsoever you want to do in order to punish us, do, yet save us from the presence of this man! Israel says similarly before God: Lord of the Universe! Rebuke me not in thine anger neither chasten me in thy wrath (Ps. 6.2). God replies: What is mine anger, and my wrath for?

Israel says: Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen (ibid. 69.6). God accepts their words, and acts accordingly, saying: And I will act in anger and fury against the heathen (Micah 5.14), but not against Israel (cf. Hosea 11.10).[1]

This instance, by the way, shows another characteristic feature of the diatribe: It was customary to put in the mouth of the arguing parties quotations from Homer, or other well-known authors, poets or philosophers. The preacher, Jewish or Christian, borrowed from the Bible. Our second instance will show this even more clearly. It is a dialogue between Israel and God, or the Holy Spirit.[2] The dialogue consists of six[3] parts. Israel quotes one passage, the Holy Spirit replies with another from the Scriptures. The dialogue reads as follows:

I. Israel says: There is none like God.
Holy Spirit: Jeshurun is like God (Deut. 33.26).

II. Israel: Who is like thee among the gods, O Lord? (Ex. 15.11).
Holy Spirit: Happy art thou, Israel, who is like thee (Deut. 33.29).

III. Israel: Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one (Deut. 6.4).
Holy Spirit: Who is like thy people Israel, a unique nation on the earth? (I Chr. 17.21).

IV. Israel: Like the apple tree among the trees of the forest, so is my beloved among the sons (Cant. 2.3).
Holy Spirit: Like the lily among the thorns, is my beloved among the daughters (ibid. 2.2).

V. Israel: This is my God, I will exalt him (Ex. 15.2).
Holy Spirit: This people I have created unto me. (Is 43.21).

VI. Israel: For thou art the glory of his might (Ps. 88.18).
Holy Spirit: Israel through thee I am glorified (Is. 9.3).[4]

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[1] M. Ps. ed. Buber 6.3. Yalḳuṭ Makiri Ps. ed. B. 6.6.

[2] Midr. Tanḥ. reads המקום inst. of רוח הקודש. In the Sifre Holy Spirit means in several places God, v. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, London 1927.

[3] M. Tan. has eight: VII, Cant. 5.10, and 7.2; VIII Deut. 4.7.

[4] Sifre Dt. § 355, p. 148ab, Midr. Tannaim p. 221, Mek. 16b, Midr. Zutta, ed. Buber p. 16.

One can faintly imagine and reconstruct after so many centuries the exact purpose and impression of a sermon of this type. At present they look to the reader as mere quotations of select gems from Pentateuch, Prophets and Psalms, which lack the key to open their secret and connection. No doubt the most sublime theological doctrines of the preacher's age were derived from, or put into these words, and surely expounded at length by the orator on that occasion. The Unity, the Incomparability, the Uniqueness both of God and Israel, the relation between God and Israel, the mutual choice of both, were the themes expounded, as pointed out in another place.[5] The introduction and the peroration are unfortunately missing, or perhaps, misplaced, therefore the actual theme cannot be with certainty established, merely guessed. For our purpose it is enough to recognize that the preachers knew and used this method of the Diatribe.

In some cases, the speech, prayer, or request of the Keneset Israel is preserved, the reply of God either originally omitted, or lost through the copyists of our ancient Midrashim. R. Jose b. R. Ḥanina, one of the most eloquent preachers of the third century in Tiberias, whose life and teaching deserve a good monograph, dealt with Ps. 140.1 in one of his homilies. The Keneset Israel says before God: Lord of the Universe! The nations of the world spread out a net before me in order to catch me! They say: Worship idols! If I listen to them, I am condemned by thy law, if I do not obey, then they slay me. I am like a thirsty wolf, who stands before the well with a snare, saying: If I descend to drink, I will be caught by the snare, if not, I shall die of thirst.[6] There we have the address of Israel; the answer of God is not reported. The preacher was satisfied with describing the feeling of his hearers, who passed through some persecutions. The same preacher offers another instance,[7] which for style and contents deserves more attention than it has received before. He delivered a sermon, in which we are told that Moses decreed four decrees, which have been abolished by four prophets. The sayings of Moses are: (1) Deut. 33.28; (2) Deut. 28.65; (3) Exod. 20.5; and (4) Lev. 26.38. They were annulled by Amos 7.5–6, Jeremiah 31.1, Ezekiel 18.4, and Isaiah 27.13. This preacher did not fear to state that the prophets objected to, or, even abolished the words of the father of the prophets. The homily, which may have been delivered on a New Year's Day (cf. the passage from Jeremiah and from Isaiah) reveals the problems agitating the mind of Galilean Jews in that period, viz. the question of assimilation, the relation of Jews to the outside world, the sins of the fathers being visited on their children, and Israel's very existence. These questions, which trouble us, children of the twentieth century, so greatly in all countries of our dispersion, were alive and pressing in Tiberias, in the third century. In order to develop this theme, or these themes, the preacher put his arguments into the mouth of Moses and the prophets. The attitude of the preacher is not clearly and distinctly stated. We do not gather from his words on this occasion, whether he favoured the point of view of Moses, and condemned the others, or *vice versa*. Other homilies of his throw some light on his views.[8]

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[5] v. Marmorstein, The imitatio dei, Nachahmung Gottes, *Jeshurun* XIV, 1928.

[6] Esther r. ch. 7, Yalḳ. Makiri Ps. 140.1.

[7] v. b. Makkot 24a, variants in En Ya'akob, Yalḳut Shim'oni II 313 and Pirḳe de Rabbenu ha-Ḳadosh, ed. Schönblum, Lemberg 1877, 24b.

(3) Another type of the diatribe is presented in Haggadahs which comprise dialogues between Biblical personages, heroes of antiquity, saints and sages on one side, and God on the other side. Just as in the Cynic-Stoic Diatribe heroes of poetry and mythology, e. g., Odysseus or Heracles are introduced as defenders or propagators of philosophical ideas and ethical norms,[9] so in their dialogues the "Fathers of the World,"[10] prophets and kings teach or admonish, defend or accuse, rebuke or praise their contemporaries before God. Here also a few instances convey an idea of the similarity between the Haggadists and ancient rhetors as to their respective application of the Diatribe. The

[8] v. Marmorstein, Eine messianische Bewegung im dritten Jahrhundert, *Jeshurun* XIII, 1926, 16–18.

[9] v. Bultmann l. c. p. 12f.

[10] As to the term אבות העולם v. Tanḥ. B I 196, Dt. r. 11.1, Gen. r. 12.14, 58.4, Lev. 36.1. Pirḳe R. ha-Kadosh III. 115, Midr. Abba Gorion p. 33, j. R. H. 56d, Eduyyot 1.4, Ozar Midrashim ed. Wertheimer, p. 80.

first instance is taken from the Haggadah of R. Jonathan ben Eleazar, reported in his name by R. Samuel b. Naḥmani. He depicts Moses as writing the Torah, especially the story of the daily creation. When he arrived at Gen. 1.26 (let us make man), Moses exclaimed: Lord of the Universe! Wherefore dost thou give an opening of mouth (occasion) to the Minim? i. e., to assert that there were two powers assisting at the creation of man. God replies: Write, and he who likes to err, let him blunder.[11] God said: What about the man, whom I created? Does he not produce big and small ones? Now, if the former should ask permission of the latter, will they not say: Why should socially higher standing people ask permission of lower ones? Well, let him learn from his Creator, who created the upper and lower ones, and yet at the creation of man, he consulted his ministering angels.[12] Gen. 1.26 gave rise to one of the thorniest questions of ancient Jewish Apologetics, and was properly misused, first by Gnostics, afterwards by Christians to prove the truth of their respective theories from the Bible of the Jews.[13]

Sometimes the dialogue represents a free, dramatized elaboration of the Bible narrative. R. Levi has a homily on Gen. 8.25. Abraham said: If thou desirest the world, there is no strict judgment, if judgment, there is no world. Thou holdest the rope by both ends,[14] thou desirest both, world and judgment. The world cannot exist with the strict measure of judgment, without forgiveness. God replies: Abraham: thou lovest righteousness, hatest wickedness, therefore, has thy God anointed thee (Ps. 45.8). From Noah till thy time ten generations perished, and to none of them did I speak, except to you.[15]

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[11] One would be inclined to read א"ל הקב"ה, כתוב, אמר משה, הרוצה לטעות יטעה, instead of א"ל כתוב, והרוצה לטעות יטעה; Moses asks this question, which fits in with the next א"ל הקב"ה, משה וכו'.

[12] Gen. r. ch. 8, ed. Theodor p. 62.

[13] v. Marmorstein, Juden und Judentum in der Altercatio Simeonis Judaei et Theophile Christianii in *Theol. Tydschrift*, 49 (1915) p. 379.

[14] A proverb אתה תופס את החבל בב' ראשין often used by the teachers, e. g. R. Simlai, Tanḥ. B. 6 ואתחנן. Samuel b. Naḥmani Dt. r. 1.10 in Aramaic and in Hebrew.

[15] Gen. r. ch. 39 ed. Theodor 369, ch. 49, ed. Theodor p. 500, Pes. B 139a.

(4) Among the manifold subjects dealt with by preachers, the most popular and appropriate to impress public opinion, was the national catastrophe, and the religious consequences of the destruction of the Temple. The choice of homiletical subjects was as difficult then, as it is now. Even the best preachers experienced some disappointments. Special days were set apart for the commemoration of that sad historic event, which marked such a great change in the course of Jewish history. R. Samuel b. Naḥmani depicted in a rather lengthy homily the scene of the destruction of the Temple. The homily belongs to the form of Diatribe described in the previous paragraph. There are, however, two features, which have to be pointed out especially. This Haggadah shows that sometimes more than two persons take part in the discussion. Abraham appears tearing his beard, plucking his hair, smiting his face, rending his garments, with ashes on his head, lamenting and crying amidst the ruins of the destroyed Temple. He says, rather asks God: Why am I different from all other languages and nations? Why has this shame and disgrace fallen to my lot? There intervene the angels, who endorse his lament by *binding laments lines by lines*,[16] and expounding Is. 33.8. The paths and roads leading to Jerusalem, established for pious pilgrims, are desolate. The pilgrimages have ceased; the covenant of Abraham is abolished, Jerusalem and Zion are despised, Israel is treated worse than the idolators, the generation of Enosh.[17] God appears thereupon asking for the reason for all these lamentations. The angels take it upon themselves to reply: Abraham, thy friend, came to the ruins of thy house, and thou dost not regard him whatsoever! God replies: Since he departed unto the House of Eternity (בית עולמו, i. e., grave, or cemetery), he did not appear in my house, and now, what has my friend to do in my house? (Jer. 11.13). Abraham lifts up his voice, and says: Lord of the Universe! Why hast thou exiled my children? Why

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[16] The term קשר הספד occurs also pal. Yoma 1.1, Sotah 1.10, Jeb. 16.4, Tos. Jeb. ed. Zuckermandel p. 259. Jelam. Yalḳ. I 787, Nahmanides חורת האדם 78a. v. Zunz *Literaturgeschichte* 15 n. 3. Perles *MGWJ* X, 387. Brüll, *Jahrb.* I 239. *Zion* 1841, 164. *Hamagid* VIII. 29, Marmorstein *Jahrb. für jüd. Volkskunde*, I, 291ff.

[17] v. R. Johanan, b. Sabb. 118b, M. Ps. 2.2., Pirḳe R. E., ch. 18.

hast thou delivered them to the nations who have slain them with cruel deaths? Why hast thou destroyed thy sanctuary, where I brought my son Isaac, the father of the nation, as a burnt offering.[18] God says: Because they have transgressed the Torah, and the 22 letters in her! So far goes the first part.[19]

The second part of this homily leads to another form of the Diatribe. I mean the method which is known as *Personification*.[20] Abstract conceptions and qualities, like truth, virtue, loving-kindness, charity, or the reverse are introduced into the speech as arguing, defending, contradicting, or confirming the speaker's statement. Here, as so often in the Haggadah, the Torah steps forward to plead against Israel. Abraham addresses the Torah, calling her: *My daughter*! Thou comest to testify against Israel, that they are guilty of transgressing the Law? Dost thou not feel ashamed before me? Remember the day, when God offered his Torah to all the nations, and they refused to receive his Law. No nation wanted to accept thee except Israel before Mt. Sinai![21] Thereupon the Torah departs. Then appear one by one the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet as witnesses, and are put to shame by Abraham. Our text has only the first three letters, each standing for one abstract idea, offended by Israel. Originally all the 22 letters were represented. Later the text was shortened for obvious reasons. The rest of the homily, which has nearly the character of a legend, contains several speeches delivered by Isaac, Jacob and Moses, the last quoting elegies in Aramaic, and a dialogue between Moses and the sun, concluding with an address by Rachel to God, who responds.

(5) The Haggadah preserved furthermore another significant feature of the Diatribe, which is shorter than the dialogues mentioned in the previous paragraphs, but all the same manifests characteristics of the dialogue. The homilists interrupt their discourse, or begin the same with an alleged or a real objection to their theme or the Bible by some opponent. The first class of

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[18] v. Gen. r. 55.9.

[19] Midr. Lam. ed. Buber p. 26.

[20] v. Bultmann, l. c. p. 12.

[21] This Haggadah is often repeated, v. Mek. 67a, ולפיכך נתבעו או"ה כדי שלא ליתן פתחון פה להם כלפי שכינה. Sifre Deut. § 343; b. AZ 3b.

these objections can be grouped together under the heading אם יאמר לך אדם. The preacher develops an idea, and in the course of his sermon, he considers: "but, if someone tells you," "so reply to him." Many times the homilist begins his exposition: כל מי שאומר "whosoever says so and so." Thirdly, the audience is reminded of a fact שלא יאמרו "in order that people should not say," etc. A fourth group has תשובה למי שאומר "a reply to those, who say, etc." The name, or character of the objector is omitted, yet in many cases, either the מינים, פושעי ישראל or אומות העולם are mentioned as real, or possible critics. Here belong further the sayings introduced by שלא ליתן פתחון פה in order not to give an opening of mouth, i. e. occasion, or opportunity to the nations of the world, Minim (Gnostics) or Christians to say, etc. Finally, one comes across the phrase אל תתמה "do not wonder," especially after legends and stories which tax even the simplest mind to an extraordinary degree. I will give a few instances for each of these diatribic forms, especially bearing in mind the relation between Minim and Scribes.

(a) The first, אם יאמר לך אדם, is to be found as early as the middle of the second century in the Haggadah of the Tannaim, R. Judah b. Ilai and R. Nehemiah. Both of them, as shown in the first part of this paper, must have taken a prominent part in the fight against gnostic speculations and Bible criticism.[22] Here[23] we are concerned with their expositions of Eccl. 3.15. Ecclesiastes teaches that that which has been is now, and that which is to be, has already been. Some sceptic objected to the first as well as to the second clause of the saying: אם יאמר לך אדם שאלו לא חטא אדם הראשון ואכל מאותו העץ היה חי וקיים לעולם: "if Adam had not sinned and tasted of that tree, he could have lived for ever." Koheleth says: Which has been is now. Supposing Adam had not sinned, would he be alive? Further, אם יאמר לך אדם שהקב״ה עתיד להחיות לנו מתים: "God will in future revive the dead," consequently, there will be something new, which has not been in the past? The reply is: Tell him (אמור לו), the first question can be met by Elijah, who is still alive, the second by the deeds of Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel. R. Nehemiah puts forth other questions of a similar type: אם יאמר לך אדם אפשר שהיה העולם כולו מים במים? אמור לו כבר הוא אוקיינוס כולו מים במים; ואם יאמר לך אדם שהקב"ה עתיד לעשות את הים יבשה אמור לו כבר היה לא כך עשה על ידי משה. The first part of the verse is attacked by one, who doubts the teaching that the world was "water in water," the second by one who asks: will there be a time, when the sea will become dry land? Otherwise how could Koheleth assert; "that which is to be, has already been?" The teacher reminds one first of the ocean, then of the crossing of the Red Sea. It is quite probable, that the objections affected more Rabbinic lore than Ecclesiastes' wisdom. Could Adam have lived for ever, if he had not sinned? Does Koheleth not deny the belief in resurrection? How can Rabbinic cosmology and eschatology be reconciled with the teachings of Koheleth? The objectors thought of, must have been Gnostics, who found the greatest pleasure in finding faults in the Bible. The teachers are contemporaries of Marcion, whose influence reached those who visited the Synagogues. Due to gnostic agitation, we hear from this period onwards, the teaching: *Whatsoever God will create in the future, has its counterpart in the past.*[24] Yet, there is another possibility! May be that pious souls could not yet acquiesce in the canonicity of Ecclesiastes. There might have been a set of Jews, reacting against the gnostic movements, who repeated old, or invented new objections to Ecclesiastes, and agitated for the removal of this book from the Canon. Some traces of such an agitation are still to be discerned in our texts. But, even such activity was under gnostic cross-currents, as we see Minim tackling the same questions in the third century.[25]

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[22] v. above pp. 160, 163, 181.

[23] Lev. r. 27.4, Pes. RK. 76a fuller than Lev. r. Tanḥ. III B. 90. Eccl. r. 3.15, where the sayings are interchanged, Eccl. Zutta 98, Yalḳ. Eccl. 967.

R. Simeon ben Laḳish delivered a sermon on Ps. 60.9, "Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine; Ephraim is also the strength of my head, Judah is my law-giver." God says: (1) If a man tells you, God will not revive the dead, point out the case of Elijah, who comes from *Gilead*, and revived the dead son of the Zarfith. (2) If a man tells you that God does not receive those who repent, point out *Manasseh*, who was a king of Judah. (3) If a man tells you that God does not help the barren women, point out the wife of Elkanah, who came from *Ephraim*. (4) If a man tells you that God does not save from fire (or according to a second version, from wild beasts), point out the three young men, or Daniel, who came from *Judah*. (5) If a man tells you that God does not heal lepers, refer him to the instance of *Moab* (or, according to another version, that God does not save from water, point out Moses, who was drawn from the water). (6) If a man tells you that God cannot redeem the weak from the hand of the strong without sword and spear, let David come and testify against him.

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[24] The doctrine is ascribed to R. Ḥalafta (Lev. r.), R .Eleazar b. Ḥalafta (Pes.), Simeon ben Ḥalafta, (Cant. r.).

[25] Num. r. 14.4, סימא בר קתפה in the name of R. Simeon ben Laḳish, introduced by אם יאמרו לך המינים, shortened Tanḥ. B IV. 41. Agadat Bereshit ch. 52 in the name of R. Berechiah, 4th cent. in a slightly different order.

Tabulating these six different objections and questions, according to the names of the teachers, we learn first of all that there are themes or questions common to all of them, secondly we may be able to establish the connection existing between them, and finally learn the development of these heresies. The first rubric (RJ) represents the questions mentioned by R. Judah ben Ilai, the second (RN), the third (RSbN), and the fourth (RSbL) by R. Nehemiah, R. Samuel b. Naḥmani, and R. Simeon b. Laḳish respectively. The underlined words recur in all, or in some of the rubrics.

RJ	RN	RSbN	RSbL
אדם הר׳ חי וקיים לעולם מחיה מתים	מים במים ים יבשה	ים יבשה פוקח עורים פוקד עקרות מלכים משתחוים	1 תחיית המתים 2 מקבל שבים 3 פוקד עקרות 4 מציל מן האש 4a מציל מן חיות 5 מרפה צרעת 5a מציל מן המים 5b מציל מן העץ 6 מציל חלש

These Minim could not have been Christians of any sort, but Jewish Gnostics, who doubted, or denied the belief in the resurrection, the possibility of repentance, and God's ability to help, or assist the ailing and those in danger of life. They opposed doctrines accepted and believed by the average Jew in the third century. Even Christians and pagans concurred in such beliefs.

On the whole, the term אם יאמר לך אדם–אמור לו is not rare in the Tannaitic Haggadah, yet frequent in the Amoraic teachings. In the paragraph treating the argument of God testing people, we used an anonymous Haggadah,[26] where this term occurs; yet in another source another form of the Diatribe is substituted, namely: שלא ליתן פתחון פה.[27]

Interesting is another homily, based on Ps. 60.9,[28] which repeats objections to Elijah, Gideon, David, and Joshua, who committed some act or other, breaking the commandments of the Law. *Elijah* built an altar on Mt. Carmel, and brought sacrifices thereon, in spite of the fact that there was a Sanctuary at that time. Such an action was against Lev. 17.3–4. *Gideon* did a similar thing, offering sacrifices on the high places, whilst the Temple in Shiloh was in existence. *David* sinned against the Law, and *Joshua* broke the Sabbath observance before Jericho. All of them, was the reply, acted on God's command (על פי' הגבורה), and for His sake. David's case is interpreted as a special example to sinners to repent, since the gates of repentance are always open. The latter is a connecting link between No. 2 in R. Simeon ben Laḳish's list and this present diatribe. Here, we can avail ourselves of material outside our own literature to identify the alleged objectors of the preacher. Early writings of the Church refer to Joshua as a proof for the mutability of the Law,[29] yet I have shown that Marcion and his followers raised the same questions from their own point of view.

The diatribe form is more usual in the Amoraic Haggadah. Yet, it would not be safe to jump to the conclusion that it is a sign of the latter Haggadah. Such a question cannot be finally

[26] v. above p. 155. Gen. r. ch. 55.1, ed. Theodor 584–585.

[27] Tanḥ. B. I. 58a.

[28] Num. r. 14.5, Tanḥ. B. IV.41.

[29] v. above p. 161.

settled in the course of a brief essay, such as the present one, since it necessitates a display of the whole material, for which there is no room here. We find this term in the Haggadah of the following Amoraim: R. Joshua ben Levi, R. Jose ben Zimra, R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama, R. Isaac, R. Levi, R. Abbahu, R. Ḥiyya b. Abba, R. Huna, R. Jose b. Abin, R. Abba Serungaya, besides those mentioned previously. Three instances taken from the anonymous Haggadah shall, for the present, conclude this part of our investigation, they relate to three different subjects, and may be used to reflect different aspects of the intellectual, political and religious conditions of the first centuries. The canonicity of some portions of the Hebrew Bible, the relation of the Torah to worldly wisdom, or the Torah of Early Christianity, and finally the shattered hopes of the Jews in the period after Emperor Julian's death shall be discussed in the following lines.

(A) "God made his covenant with Israel for the sake of the Torah." One should not say (שלא יאמר אדם): The Psalms are not Torah." No, they are Torah, so are also the Books of the Prophets, and not only the Psalms but also the Riddles and Parables.[30] The text is unfortunately in a bad condition. This is the more to be regretted, since a very grave and far-reaching subject is touched by the homilist. It presupposes an opposition from some unknown quarter to a part of the established Canon of the Bible. The date is also of great importance. If we might trust the Yalkut,[31] we could ascribe the homily to R. Samuel b. Naḥmani, which is not impossible. Another source[32] renders this information in the form of a dialogue between Israel and the singer Assaf. Israel says: Is there another Torah? Asaph: The פושעי ישראל assert that the Prophets and Hagiographa are not included in the Torah, and they do not believe in them. A similar assertion is repeated in a Piska for the Pentecost, discovered and published by the present writer, where we read: In order that ye shall not say: God gave Israel the Torah (but not Nebi'im and Ketubim).[33] Who are these enemies of the two latter orders of the Bible? Christians are excluded at the outset. Prophets and Hagiographa were as sacred to them as to the majority of the Jews. We may mention Samaritans, or Sadducees, who are reputed to have rejected both Prophets and Hagiographa, yet it is unlikely that at this stage of separation from the people of Nablus, or after Sadducees have lost all their influence, or power, this should be the subject of homilies. Some Sadducees may have survived in some corners of Galilee, or may have amalgamated with Minim of different sorts, against whom the homily is directed.

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[30] M. Ps. ed. Buber p. 344.

[31] Ps. § 819.

[32] Tanḥ. B. V. 19, v. Marmorstein, *Religionsgesch. Studien* I 33, and in the essay given in the next footnote.

(B) A homily on Lam. 2.9b (Her king and her princes are among the Gentiles, there is no Torah)[34] begins: If one tells you there is wisdom among the nations, believe him (Ob. 1.8), yet, if he tells you, there is Torah among them, do not believe him. A fuller version[35] of this homily is to be found in a Midrash on Deuteronomy. It is not hidden from thee (Deut. 30.11), but it is hidden from the nations of the world. If one tells thee that there are heroes and wealthy people among the nations of the world believe him, but that there is Torah among them, do not believe him. This Homily reflects Christian views. Christians claimed the Scriptures as their inheritance, and accused the Jews of forgeries. The preachers of the Synagogues declared that in spite of Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others there is no Torah among the Gentiles.

(C) This is a reply to those, who say: "It is true that God said: 'I build a sanctuary!', and he built the same, but ye sinned, and he destroyed, and will rebuild it no more!" The refutation is based on the future in the verbs ישכון and ויתלונן (Job 39. 28).[36] The taunting voice must have come from Christian circles, who ridiculed the hopes of the Jews, or put obstacles in the way of their attempts at rebuilding the Sanctuary in Jerusalem. The scene meets many historical situations from 68 C. E. till the time of Emperor Julian. It is not unlikely that this Haggadah voices the views of Julian's enemies, their joy at the failure of the hopes of the Jews, and their bitter disappointment. Julian's relation to the Jews are shown in his letters to them, in which the promise to rebuild the Temple is plainly expressed.[37] Our homily reflects the feeling among Jews after the death of the Emperor.

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[33] v. Marmorstein, Ein Fragment einer neuen Piska zum Wochenfest und der Kampf gegen das mündliche Gesetz, in *Jeshurun* XII 1925, 24–53.

[34] Midr. Lam. ed. Buber p. 114.

[35] Midr. Deut. ed. Buber p. 28.

[36] Pes. r. 10b, Yalḳuṭ Job.

(b) A second group is that of sayings and sentences introduced by כל האומר, "anyone who says," or כל מי שאומר, "whosoever says." There is a long catalogue of persons, e. g., the sons of Eli, of Samuel, David, Josiah, and Solomon, who are supposed to have erred and committed sins. All who say, these persons, or one of them transgressed the Law, is mistaken.[38] Similar sentences are reported about the Queen of Sheba,[39] and Manasseh, King of Judah.[40] The first group is by R. Jonathan ben Eleazar, whom we know as greatly interested in heretical views. He defended also Reuben's deed, yet this apology is much older. R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus, R. Joshua ben Hananiah, R. Eleazar of Modi'im, R. Simeon ben Eleazer, and R. Simeon ben Gamaliel, preachers of the Tannaitic age, already found it necessary to deal with this point from the pulpit.[41] Bearing in mind Marcion's Antithesis about God's favouring the wicked, and condemning the good, we have somewhere to look for an explanation of Jonathan's endeavours to justify, or to defend the errors of these persons. The same preacher goes for those people, who think that the Queen of Sheba was a woman. The Queen is not meant at all, but the Kingdom of Sheba. The defence of Manasseh is ascribed to R. Johanan. Since the names of these two teachers are very often confused, is it too daring to assume that here also R. Jonathan is the original reading, instead of R. Johanan? "Whosoever asserts that Manasseh has no share in future life, weakens the hands (מרפה ידיהן) of those who desire to repent!" We saw a few pages earlier that preachers had to combat a false doctrine of Minim, who taught that there is no repentance, God does not receive those who repent. Due to this greatly damaging conception, the scribes went to the other extreme, and taught that there is no transgression or iniquity, not even excepting the cardinal sins of idolatry, bloodshed and immorality, which, where forgiveness is proper, is not forgiven.[42] Only one of the Scribes, R. Ḥaninah b. Ḥama thought it necessary to contradict such leniency as misleading.[43] God's forgiveness and goodness must not be misinterpreted. "Whosoever proclaims that God is too forgiving, let his inside be pierced. God is merciful, but he gets his due." Both teachers must have been induced to teach thus by the views of Marcion who denied God's mercy and love. The teaching can be traced back to Sirach, who faced a similar attitude towards sins many centuries before our period.[44] Then, as now, people denied God's goodness, or the possibility of repentance, on one side, and on the other side thought that God's forgiveness has to be limited. The contemporaries of Sirach aired exactly the same views as the Jews in the third century C. E. against whom R. Ḥaninah b. Ḥama protested. God is full of forgiveness, consequently, we may sin as much as we like to. We trust in his goodness, and may heap iniquity upon iniquity. His mercy is unlimited. Sirach tells them: Do not say so! His mercy and anger go together! The Mishna Yoma[45] may have thought of Sirach's contemporaries, who said, "Iwill sin, and repent!" or "I will sin, and the Day of Atonement will bring forgiveness!" In the third century the Meturgeman of R. Simeon b. Laḳish, R. Judah b. Naḥmani, preached, "If the Yeẓer ha-Ra' tells thee: 'Sin, and God will forgive thee!' do not believe him!"[46]

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[37] v. Graetz, *Geschichte* IV. 338, and note 34 ibid.

[38] b. Sabb. 55a.

[39] b. BB. 15b.

[40] b. Sanh. 103a.

[41] v. Sifre Deut. §§ 347, 355, Gen. r. 87.8, b. Sotah 7b, j. Sota 1.4., Tanḥ 58b.

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[42] Tanḥ. f.26a, Lev. r. 23,9, R. Joshua ben Levi in the name of Bar Kappara על הכל הקב"ה מותר חוץ מן הזנות, M Ps. 24d. R. Abba b. Kahana, ויתר הקב"ה על ע"ז, ג"ע וש"ד ולא ויתר על חילול השם מצינו שויתר הקב"ה על ע"ז, ג"ע וש"ד Lam. r. 1.2. ע"ז, ג"ע וש"ד ולא ויתר על חילול השם. Lam. r. 1.2, מצינו שויתר הקב"ה על ע"ז, ג"ע וש"ד ולא ויתר על מאסה של תורה. cf. M. Ps. 14b.

[43] Gen. r. 67.4 ed. Theodor 75f, pal. Shek. 48b, Beza 62b, Ta'aniyot 65b, b BK 50a, Pes. b. 161a. Tanḥ. כי תשא 26, M. Esther, 3, 16, 41. ed. Buber, s. v. הרעים, Agadat Esther s. v. ומרדכי יצא M. Ps. 10.3, Num. r. 14.6 כל האומר הק'בה וותרן הוא יתוותרון מעיו.

[44] Hebr. 5.4ff. אל תאמר: חטאתי ומה יעשה לי, כי יהוה ארך אפים הוא! על סליחה תבטח אל להוסיף עון על עון ואמרת רחמיו רבים לרוב עונותי יסלח כי רחמים ואף עמו ועל רשעים ינוח רגזו.

[45] ch. VIII.9.

[46] b. Hag. 16a.

(c) Thirdly, preachers liked to introduce sayings which they reject in a negative form, e. g. שלא יאמר לך אדם. One instance has been mentioned above.[47] These sayings allow us a deeper insight into the thoughts and feelings of both parties. A homily on Job 41.4 teaches: God said: In order that children of man should not say (שלא יאמרו בני אדם): "We may also speak to God, as Abraham spoke, and he kept silent!" God replies: "I will not keep silent, although I kept silent unto Abraham."[48] The same homilist makes Abraham say before God: Lord of the Universe! Far be it from thee, etc., in order that people should not say (שלא יאמרו באי עולם): "That is his way, he destroys the generations in cruelty. He destroyed the generations of Enoch, of the Flood, of the Dispersion, he cannot leave off his way!" We now know the background of this saying of the באי עולם. It was made clear above that this argument is actually copied from Marcion's storehouse of arguments against the "cruel" God.[49] It is naturally unlikely that the preachers invented such words about a defeated or cruel God of their own. They introduced them from speeches delivered, or writings compiled by Gnostics. Rhetoricians in the squares of the cities, or in assemblies argued and were listened to by Christians and Jews, Gnostics and pagans. The orators of the Synagogues were bound to pay the closest attention to these opinions of the market philosophers, and dispel their mischievous influence. Another example shall illustrate this: R. Judah b. Simon, a well-known Haggadist of the fourth century, asserts that besides Moses and Aaron, God himself took an active part in the numbering of Israel in the wilderness. Why did God join with Moses and Aaron to count them? God said: "In order that one should not say, 'How could Moses and Aaron correctly count the crowds of Israel?' " Therefore, he who doubts the numberings of Moses and Aaron is to be considered as if he criticized God Almighty![50] We have other, and earlier evidence that the numbers in the

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[47] v. p. 196.

[48] Tanḥ. B. I, 91.

[49] v. above pp. 158 f.

[50] Num. r. 7.2.

Scriptures, and their exactness often gave rise to criticism.[51] A preacher compares the virtue of work with the merit of the fathers. Jacob was saved owing to his own work, and not through the merit of the fathers in his contest with Laban. We derive hence the teaching that a man should not say: "I will eat and drink, and see good, but I will not toil, for Heaven will provide for me!"[52] This saying can be combined with another by Ulla, in the name of R. Ḥiyya b. Ammi, who teaches: Greater is he who earns his own living than he who fears Heaven.[53] How short do these views fall compared with the preaching of R. Eleazar of Modi'im: "He who says, 'what will I eat tomorrow' is one of those who have little faith in Heaven."[54] The change of attitude towards this problem between the teacher of Modi'im and the preachers of the third century seems to me most remarkable!

(d) A fourth diatribic form in the Haggadah applies the term: תשובה למי שאומר or למי שאומרים connecting the reply with the alleged interruption of the interlocutor. We quoted above an instance,[55] which probably opened a new source for the history of the Jews after the age of Emperor Julian. An earlier passage uses this form to refute the views of heretics, who deny the existence of the heavenly kingdom, who allege the existence of two powers, and who teach, that God can neither revive, nor is death in his power, he could perform neither good, nor evil.[56] Atheists, Dualists and Epicureans stand in the background of this Haggadah. We come across the same term in a refutation of the Christian dogma, teaching the idea of God's son.[57] This apology, or polemic utterance is not earlier than the fourth century.

(e) We turn now to arguments, allegations, accusations and libels, which are repeated in Rabbinic homilies in the name of a whole set or group of people. Up till now, we considered anonymous interlocutors, whose words or views were quoted by homilists, without disclosing names, characters, origins, or positions of the respective persons. Some parallels, or sometimes the contents, clearly point to the source whence they came. Here we consider, first of all, sayings ascribed to the *nations of the world*, introduced by או"ה מונים or או"ה אומרים or שלא יאמרו או"ה. These sayings cover the whole ground of anti-Jewish polemics of the first four centuries, and reveal the darkest background of Rabbinic Apologetics. The polemical interlocutions touch Israel's relation to God, Israel's past, present and future, Israel's belief and Bible, character and achievements. Some of these calumnies and shortcomings, faults and blasphemies lived a miserable existence for more than a millenium in word and script, and are heard up to this hour of writing in the literature of the gutter and the press of the mire. No wonder! They originated there, in the ale-houses of Alexandria, in the dens of wretched, vainglorious humbugs, in the defiled hearts of philosophic charlatans, who successfully bamboozled their stupid contemporaries with second-rate stunts and slogans. Pious Church Fathers were infected and used those hateful words in the misguided campaign against the sanctity of the Synagogue. Other attacks were illegitimately born under the shadow of narrow and petty pulpits of the Ancient Church. Some are the wild fruits of the bitter struggle between Early Christianity and Judaism, written with the poisonous quills of prejudice by men, whose professed task it was to spread love and benevolence. It would have been less than human, if some of the Scribes had not paid back their arch-enemies with the very same coin. The anti-Jewish polemical literature produced such networks of falsehood and tissues of the most abominable, humiliating accusations that one could not be surprised at the history of that most disgraceful historical appearance, called in want of a better name, Antisemitism.

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[51] e. g. the interlocutor of R. Johanan b. Zakkai.

[52] Tanḥ. f. 39b, Num. r. 22.9 למד שלא יאמר אדם אכל ואשתה ואראה בטוב ולא אטריח עצמי ומן השמים ירחמו.

[53] b. Ber. 8a גדול הנהנה מיגיעו יותר מירא שמים.

[54] Mek. 26a, b. Sota 48a, Exod. r. 25,14, Tanḥ. f. 88b, Ev. Math. 6.30, Epictetus, *Dis.* 1.9. 19. Bergmann in Cohen's *Judaica*, p. 158.

[55] v. p. 198.

[56] Sifre Dt. § 329, Midr. Tann. p. 202.

[57] M. Ps. ed. Buber p. 28, v. also ed. Prag 4b.

The limited space at our disposal here, does not permit a full description of this awful fight, which may be regarded as one of the most tragic chapters of the history of human intellect. But merely the brief items can be pointed out, which are grouped together under the diatribic form: או"ה אומרים. *God*, or the

God of Israel, was depicted as cruel, and weak. The pagan mind was not so much concerned about God, whom they somehow could tolerate or ignore, although the Scribes assert that the nations of the world hate God. This very fact was supposed to be the hidden secret of the great enmity against Israel, God's people, representing the King of Heaven on earth. God's relation to Israel, and Israel's loyal adherence to God, was a thorn in their side. Where is your God? How is he superior to all other Gods? Did he not perish, when his House was destroyed? Is there a God, whose believers are defeated, and whose people are exiled? Could an almighty God suffer his city, his temple to become a prey of flames, his adherents the victims of a foreign sword, and the survivors of that catastrophe the exhibits of the slave-markets all over the world? Christians adapted and developed these pagan taunts by asserting that they are the true Israel, God has forsaken Israel, moreover they never have been God's people, by the *deed of the calf* they broke the divine covenant. To the heathen mind the national misfortune was a proof of God's weakness, to the Christian a weapon in their propaganda that Israel is rejected by God, and his love and grace transferred to the New People. The Apostles of Love found out that God hates Israel. They never will be redeemed. God loves the nations of the world, and finds no pleasure in Israel. Israel has to assimilate either with pagan, or with Christian Rome. Both stretched out their loving arms to embrace the Jews. Many succumbed, yet the old remnant kept to God. Thus, the blackening of the Jews goes on for many centuries, with greater or lesser force, to this very day. We hear: "The Jews are idolators, immoral, guilty of bloodshed, robbers, they are the descendants of Egyptians, lepers, despised and low people, never of any use to the world, enemies of law and society, an obstinate, stiff-necked race!" This catalogue of misdoings and faults on the part of the Jews is much longer than could be copied in this place. It is most instructive for the inner relation of Judaism to Christianity that the latter is styled by the same title, as is used for the pagans by early writers of the Church as well as by Jews. Both appeared to the Jews as the nations of the world. Christians were no longer in the eyes of the Jews the small group of Noẓrim, or Posh'e Israel, they became estranged altogether. Further it is to be noticed that neither pagans nor Christians attacked the Bible as such; the former, with very few earlier exceptions, out of indifferentism, the latter out of veneration for the sacred texts. This was left to the Minim, whose interlocutions engaged our attention in the first chapter.

(f) In conclusion, a few instances of the Diatribic form of אל תתמה, "do not wonder," may be given. It is used when the preacher indulges in depicting miracles, or repeating legends from the pulpit. There must have been critics among the audience, who by shaking their heads, or faint smiles, showed their disapproval. For instance, when describing Moses' endeavour to find Joseph's coffin. He was directed by Seraḥ, the daughter of Asher. Moses took a pebble (צרור) cast the same into the Nile, and the coffin came floating to the surface. There may have been a stir among the hearers, and the preacher uses אל תתמה to alleviate their surprise and amazement by repeating the story of II Kings 6.6.[58] R. Levi teaches in the name of R. Simeon b. Menasya that the heel of Adam darkened the sun;[59] and adds אל תתמה, a man who makes two bedchambers (קיטונים, *κειτών*), one for himself, the other for his houshold, which will be more beautiful? the latter or the former? Surely the former! Adam was created for the service of God, the sun for the use of man. R. Berechiah expounded the irrationalistic doctrine that Solomon's temple was not built by human hands, but it was ready-made. Even the stones came from great distances, and placed themselves in the layer (דימוס, *ϐὴμος*). This strange teaching, naturally, provoked amazement. Thereupon Dan. 6.18 is quoted. Are there stones in Babylon? Certainly not, but a stone flew from Palestine and settled itself on the mouth of the pit.[60] These, and many more instances, which can be adduced,[61] prove clearly that the statements of the preachers were not accepted on their face-value, but criticised.

London, 4 July, 1928.

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[58] Mek. 24ab, Tosefta Sota 300, v. Marmorstein, Beitrage I in Dr. Grunwald *Jahrbuch* I 281–288 for parallels and explanation.

[59] Pes. B. 36b and Parall.

[60] Cant. r. 1.5 and Parall.

[61] Gen. r. 4.9 and Parall.

ARABISCH-JÜDISCHE SCHÖPFUNGSTHEORIEEN

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I

SCHAHRASTANI[1] teilt als Lehre an-Nazzams folgendes mit: Gott hat die existierenden Dinge auf einmal, so wie sie jetzt bestehen Metalle, Pflanzen, Tiere und Menschen geschaffen, und die Schöpfung Adams war nicht der Schöpfung seiner Kinder vorangegangen, nur hat Gott einen Teil davon im Andern verborgen, so dass Früher-und Spätersein nur auf ihr Hervortreten aus den Orten ihrer Verborgenheit, nicht auf ihr Entstehen und ihre Existenz kommt.

Diese Lehre Nazzams ist vielfach missverstanden worden, zuerst von ihrem Tradenten Schahrastani selbst. Er bemerkt nämlich:[2] "Diese Meinung hat er aber nur von denjenigen Philosophen, die dem Verborgensein und Hervortreten anhängen, genommen."

Er meint damit wohl die Lehre des Anaxagoras, die er im zweiten Teile[3] anführt: "Er ist der erste gewesen, welcher das Verborgensein und zur Erscheinungkommen behauptet hat, insofern er die Bestimmung aufgestellt hat, dass alle Dinge in dem ersten Körper verborgen seien, und die Existenz nur ihr zum Erscheinenkommen aus diesem Körper sei, was die Art, die Klasse, das Mass, die Gestalt, die Dichtheit und die Dünnheit betrifft, gleichwie die Aehre aus dem einen Saatkorne, die hohe Palme aus dem kleinen Kerne, der Mensch vollkommen an Gestalt, aus dem unbedeutenden Samentropfen und der Vogel aus dem Ei zur Erscheinung komme; alles dieses sei ein zur Erscheinung kommen aus dem Verborgensein, ein Tun von einer Kraft aus, eine Form von der Einrichtung einer Materie her, und das Hervorbringen sei nur eines und es geschähe von nichts anderem ausser jenem ersten Körper."

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[1] *Schahrastani*—Haarbrücker I, 57. Vgl. S. 63: "Aḫmad ibn Ajjub ibn Manus, der auch zu den Schülern an-Nazzams gehörte und ähnliches wie Ibn Hâjit über die Seelenwanderung und die Erschaffung der Geschöpfe mit einem Male lehrte."

[2] Das.

[3] Haarbrücker S. 86.

Steiner[4] bemerkt zu den Worten "nur hat Gott . . . einen Teil verborgen": "so dass er der Anlage nach, aber nicht in Wirklichkeit vorhanden war." Steiner versteht also die Lehre Nazzams dahin, dass sie auf den aristotelischen Begriffen Möglichkeit und Wirklichkeit beruht, so dass Hervortreten aus der Verborgenheit nichts anderes sei als der Übergang von der Möglichkeit in die Wirklichkeit.

Horovitz[5] weist beide Auffassungen zurück und er führt seinerseits aus: "Zunächst sei nun daran erinnert, dass eine ähnliche Anschauung, wonach das gesamte Schöpfungswerk gleich am ersten Tage fertig war und lediglich successive in die Erscheinung trat, bereits frühzeitig in jüdischen Kreisen vertreten wurde. Dennoch läge die Vermutung nahe, dass diese Anschauung, wie so viele andere Elemente der Aggada, gleich beim Erscheinen des Islam oder später in arabische Kreise eingedrungen und auf diese Weise zur Kenntnis N's gelangt sei. Diese Vermutung gewinnt an Wahrscheinlichkeit, wenn wir erfahren, dass auch den Kirchenlehrern jene Auffassung der Schöpfungsgeschichte nicht unbekannt war."

Allein der Ausspruch N's enthält einen Zusatz, der sich in jüdischen Quellen nicht nachweisen lässt, nämlich die Behauptung, dass auch die Schöpfung Adams der Schöpfung seiner Nachkommen nicht vorangegangen sei—eine Vorstellung, welche mit der Anschauung von der gleichzeitigen Schöpfung aller sechs Tageswerke keineswegs zusammenfällt. Noch charakteristischer heisst es bei Kahir al-B.: 'N. habe behauptet, dass die Schöpfung der Mütter nicht vorangehe der Schöpfung der Kinder.' "Wir glauben daher nicht irre zu gehen, wenn wir annehmen, dass der Behauptung N's vom Kumun die Lehre der Stoiker vom λόγος σπερματικός zu Grunde liege, die Anschauung, dass im Urstoff oder der Vernunft sämtliche Dinge verborgen seien und aus ihr mit derselben Notwendigkeit hervorgehen wie das Tier oder die Pflanze aus dem Samen."

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[4] *Die Mutaziliten* S. 68.

[5] *Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam.* S. 22 f.

Diese Auffassung ist ebensowenig richtig wie die Schahrastanis und Steiners. Horovitz hat den Satz nicht beachtet: "so wie sie jetzt beständen." Oder—wie Horovitz den Satz wiedergibt—: "in der Weise wie sie jetzt sind." Dieser Satz macht es unmöglich, die Lehre Nazzams in Abhängigkeit von der Lehre der Stoiker zu bringen; er beweist, dass Nazzam vielmehr im scharfen—vielleicht nicht unbewussten—Gegensatze zu den Stoikern steht. Die Kosmogonie der Stoiker lautet nämlich wie folgt:

"Aus dem Urwesen entwickeln sich die besonderen Dinge nach einem inneren Gesetze. Denn da jenes, seinem Begriffe nach, die bildende und schaffende Kraft ist, so muss das Weltganze aus ihm mit derselben Naturnotwendigkeit hervorwachsen wie das Tier oder die Pflanze aus dem Samen. Das Urfeuer nämlich—so lehren die Stoiker im Anschluss an Heraklit—verwandelt sich zuerst in Luft (d. h. in luftartigen Dunst), dann in Wasser; aus diesem schlägt sich ein Teil als Erde nieder, ein anderer bleibt Wasser, ein dritter verdunstet als atmosphärische Luft, welche ihrerseits wieder Feuer aus sich entzündet, und aus der wechselnden Mischung dieser vier Elemente bildet sich, von der Erde als Mittelpunkt aus, die Welt, indem die Wärme in ihrer Entwicklung aus dem Wasser die chaotische Masse gestaltet."[6]

Nach der Lehre der Stoiker also, ist die Welt, wie sie jetzt ist, das Produkt einer Reihe von Entwicklungen, während nach Nazzam die Dinge in der Weise wie sie jetzt sind, d. h. erstens in ihrer Stofflichkeit und Körperlichkeit, zweitens in ihrer volkommenen Gestalt und Vollendung auf einmal erschaffen wurden. Es ist also weder von einem bloss potentiellen, noch von einem bloss keimartigen, sowohl im physischen wie im metaphysischen Sinne, Vorhandensein die Rede, sondern davon, dass die Dinge: Metalle, Pflanzen, Tiere und Menschen, in vollendetem Zustande ins Dasein gerufen wurden. Ich bemerke jetzt, dass schon Horten die Auffassung Horovitz' zurückweist:

"Man hat den Versuch gemacht (Horovitz, *Kalâm* 23), die stoische Lehre vom keimartigen Logos zur Erklärung heranzuziehen. Diese ist jedoch von der des Nazzam wesentlich verschieden. Nach dem Stoikern ist die Gottheit selbst der *λόγος σπερματικός*. Sie ist eine der Welt innewohnende Kraft, die Seele des Alls, die der Materie Leben spendet und die Keime aller Dinge in sie hineinsenkt. Von allen diesen findet sich bei Nazzam keine Spur. Nach ihm entstehen die Dinge nicht aus Keimen, sondern durch Veränderung der Mischung. Alle Dinge sind nach ihm bereits fertig. Ein Wachsen aus Keimen ist daher dem Grundgedanken seiner Philosophie durchaus entgegengesetzt".[7]

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[6] Zeller III^3/1. S. 149 f.

Horten seinerseits greift wieder auf die Erklärung Schahrastanis zurück. Er führt aus: "Eine Lehre, die das Entstehen und Vergehen als ein nur scheinbares erklärt, richtet unseren Blick auf die Vorsokratiker, Leukippus, Demokrit, Empedokles und Anaxagoras. Im vorliegenden Falle kann jedoch nur der Letztere in Frage kommen; denn Nazzam, der die Atomistiker Leukippus und Demokrit bekämpft, nahm nicht eine beschränkte Anzahl von Elementen an (Empedokles), aus deren Mischung die wesentlich verschiedenen Dinge entstanden wären, sondern eine unbeschränkte Anzahl von Urstoffen (Anaxagoras, *σπέρματα* oder *χρήματα*). Alle diese Stoffe sind in jedem Dinge vorhanden, so dass aus jedem Dinge alles werden kann durch Hervortreten der einen (*zuhur*) und Zurücktreten (*kumun*) des konträren Stoffes. Wenn der Schnee, so lehrt Anaxagoras, nicht das Element des Schwarzen (im Zustande des Verborgensein, *kumun*) in sich enthielte, so könnte auch das Wasser nicht schwarz sein, in das er sich auflöst. Unter den 'griechischen Philosophen (*Schahrastani* 39), die das Verborgensein und Hervortreten lehrten,' kann daher nur Anaxagoras und seine Schule gemeint sein, da deren Lehre sich mit der Nazzams vollkommen deckt."[8]

An sich recht schön, aber bei Nazzam steht nichts davon. "In der Gestalt wie sie jetzt sind" muss auch in bezug auf die Quantität gelten. Nazzam kennt also für den ersten Schöpfungsakt auch keine quantitative Entwicklung, die doch bei Anaxagoras angenommen werden muss.[9]

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[7] Die Lehre vom Kumun bei Nazzam *ZDMG* 63, 776, vgl. auch S. 775 Anm. 2.
[8] Das. S. 775 f.

Dennoch enthält der erste Satz der Schöpfungslehre Nazzams zwei Gedanken.

1. Gesamtschöpfung in einem Schöpfungsakt.[10]
2. Die Dinge sind in vollendetem Zustande erschaffen worden.

Beide Gedanken hängen eng zusammen: Wenn das All nicht allmählich geworden, sondern mit einem Male als Ganzes entstanden ist, so darf man auch bei den Teilen des Alls: Metalle, Pflanzen, Tiere und Menschen nicht Entwicklung und allmähliches Werden voraussetzen. Sie sind mit einem Male in der Weise wie sie jetzt sind, geschaffen worden.

Diese beiden Gedanken finden wir in der Agada und sie werden von Philo in voller Schärfe und Deutlichkeit gelehrt.

1. Auf die Agada verweist schon Horovitz.[11]

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[9] Dadurch erledigen sich auch alle anderen von Horten für seine Auffassung geltend gemachten Argumente (SS. 780–792).

[10] Vgl. *Baġdadi* (Horovitz S. 23, Horten S. 777): "Nazzam lehrte: Gott erschuf Menschen, Tiere, Metalle . . . *zugleich* in derselben Zeit. Die Erschaffung Adams geht *nicht* der seiner Kinder, und die der Mütter *nicht* der ihrer Kinder zeitlich voraus."

[11] A. a. O. vgl. Aptowitzer, *Simonsenfestschrift* S. 125 Anm. 12. Vgl. noch den Satz R. Simeon b. Joḥai's: Himmel und Erde sind nicht nacheinander erschaffen worden, sondern zugleich, wie eine Schüssel und ihr Deckel (כאילפס וכסוייה), P. Hag. II 77d; Gen. r. I 15; Lev. r.XXXVI 1; Mid. Sam. V § 1.

Ursprünglich waren Schammaiten und Hilleliten im Streite, indem die Schammaiten behaupteten, dass der Himmel zuerst erschaffen wurde, während die Hilleliten meinten, die Erde wurde zuerst erschaffen. Dann aber kam über sie göttliche Inspiration und beide Parteien stimmten überein, dass Himmel und Erde in einer Stunde, ja in einem Augenblicke erschaffen wurden. Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer XVIII.—Ein sterblicher König baut sich einen Palast, da werden die Bestandteile des Baues einzeln zusammengetragen und aneinander gefügt, aber Himmel und Erde sind auf einmal erschaffen worden; אבל מעשה שמים וארץ כולם נבראו בבת אחת Seder Eliahu r. XXXI (ed. Friedmann S. 160).

In der sogenannten nihilistischen Spekulation der Gnosis begegnet man folgender Vorstellung: So hat der Gott, der nicht war, die Welt gemacht, die nicht ist, aus dem, was nicht ist, indem er fallen liess und legte ein Samenkorn, welches die ganze Samenfülle der Weltordnung in sich enthielt . . . so enthält das Samenkorn, das nicht ist und von dem nicht vorhandenen Gotte herabgeworfen wurde, die zugleich vielgestaltige und mannigfach geartete Samenfülle der Weltordnung. (Schulz, *Dokumente der Gnosis*, S. 140).

Bei Philo[12] heisst es:

"Damals also entstand alles zu gleicher Zeit; obwohl aber alles zugleich entstand, musste doch die Schilderung in bestimmter Ordnung gegeben werden, weil nach einer solchen in Zukunft alles auseinander entstehen sollte."

Der von Maimuni, Moreh II 30, angeführte Midrasch kommt in unseren Sammlungen nicht vor. Vielleicht ist er eine freie Ausschmückung des Ausspruches R. Nehemias in Gen. r. XII, 4 כמלקטי תאנים. Dass Maimuni die Anschauung kennt, haben wir soeben gesehen; auch Saadia kennt sie, Emunot II 46; Jezirahkommentar ed. Lambert, arab. S. 11 f., franz. Übs. S. 27., vgl. Guttmann, *Lewy-Festschrift* S. 322. Guttmann meint, dass Maimuni aus Saadia geschöpft hat, dagegen verweist schon Ginzberg *REJ* LXVIII 148 auf die Agada.

[12] *De op. mundi* §22 (ed. Cohn I S. 22; deutsch von J. Cohn in *Schriften der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur* I S. 49), vgl. noch Philo das. §3 (ed. Cohn I S. 4 §13; Übs. S. 31): "In sechs Tagen, sagt er, ist die Welt geschaffen worden, nicht etwa weil der Schöpfer einen Zeitraum nötig hatte—denn es ist selbstverständlich, dass Gott alles auf einmal bewirkt, nicht durch seinen Befehl, sondern schon durch sein Denken; sondern weil für die Entstehung der Dinge eine bestimmte Ordnung nötig war." Philo ist offenbar bestrebt seine Ansicht mit dem biblischen Schöpfungsbericht in Einklang zu bringen. Vgl. auch Philo das. §7 (ed. Cohn S. 8 §28, Übs. S. 36): "Denn wenn auch der Schöpfer alles zugleich erschuf, so war doch nichtsdestoweniger Ordnung in der schönen Schöpfung. Denn nichts ist schön bei Unordnung. Ordnung aber ist die Aufeinanderfolge und Verbindung vorangehender und nachfolgender Dinge, wenn auch nicht immer in der Ausführung, so doch in dem Gedanken der Verfertiger; so klar und deutlich und nicht verworren mussten die gefasst sein." Vgl. Aptowitzer das. Zu dem Gedanken bei Philo gehört folgende Stelle bei Origenes:

"Einige wieder die in unpassender Weise Gott auffassen, glauben nicht annehmen zu dürfen, dass nach Art der Baumeister deren Werk teilweise in vielen Tagen vollständig wird, auch die Welt in mehreren Tagen vollendet wurde, behaupten, dass *alles auf einmal entstand*, und von hier aus beweisen sie dies. Der Ordnung wegen aber meinen sie erfolgte die Aufzählung der Tage und des in ihnen Entstandenen. Sie gebrauchen in überredender Weise folgende ihrer Ansicht angepasste Stelle: Er sprach und sie wurden, er befahl und sie entstanden."

(In den *Schedae Combefis.* (p. 54 f. Lomm) zu Gen. 2.2, bei Harnack, *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeit des Origenes I Hexateuch und Richter*, *Texte und Untersuchungen* III-12 Heft 3ª S. 23).

Harnack kennt zwar die Stelle bei Philo nicht, hat aber das richtige getroffen, wenn er bemerkt:

"Diese Exegeten waren vielleicht keine Christen, sondern rationalistisch-philosophische Juden." Ephraem polemisiert gegen diese Ansicht. Erklärungen

2. Alle Werke der Schöpfung sind in quantitativ und qualitativ vollendetem Zustande erschaffen worden.[13]

"Kaum aber war dein Wort ergangen, so geschah das Werk also bald; da entsprossen plötzlich Früchte in unendlicher Menge, tausendfach verschieden an süssem Geschmack, Blumen in mannigfaltigen Farben, Bäume von verschiedenartigen Wuchs und Würzkräuter mit wunderbarem Duft. Dies geschah am dritten Tag."[14]

"Sodann beginnt er die Erde auszuschmücken. Er befiehlt, dass sie Gras und Aehren trage und allerlei Kräuter und futterreiche Felder hervorbringe, und alles was als Futter für die Tiere und als Nahrung für die Menschen dienen sollte. Ausserdem liess er alle Arten von Bäumen wachsen; keinen liess er aus, weder einen der wild wachsenden, noch einen der sogenannten zahmen (edlen) Gattung. Es waren aber alle sofort bei ihrem ersten Entstehen mit Früchten belastet, im Gegensatz zu der jetzigen Art und Weise des Wachstums.". . .Beim ersten Werden aller Dinge dagegen, liess Gott, wie ich sagte, das ganze Pflanzenreich vollendet aus der Erde emporwachsen, mit Früchten, und zwar nicht mit unfertigen, sondern vollkommen ausgereiften, zum sofortigen und unverzüglichen Gebrauch und Genuss der Lebewesen, die alsbald geschaffen werden sollten."[15]

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der Genesis I (*Sämmtl. Werke d. Kvv.* ed. Kempten XXVII, S. 95): Denn mit Himmel und Erde ward nichts anderes geschaffen.—Eine Polemik gegen die Schöpfung in einem Akt bei einem jüdischen Autor des Mittelalters, vgl. weiter unten Anm. 134.

[13] R. H. 11a, Hullin 60a. Vgl. R. Hananel zur ersten Stelle ('Aruk צב) und Tosafot an beiden Stellen. Vgl. Responsum R. Hais in *Responsen der Gaonim* ed. Lyck No. 28, ed. Harkawy S. 199, No. 383, *Sha'are Teshubah* No. 144. תורתן של ראשונים II S. 46 §15. Das Responsum im Jezirahkommentar des R. Judah b. Barzillai S. 74 im Namen des R. Sherira. Vgl. Sifra בחוקותי Perek I Hal. 3,4; Gen. r. X, 4; *Bate Midrashot* ed. Wertheimer I, S. 6, No. 11 und *Rasiel ed.* Amsterdam 35^b. Vg. Aptowitzer, *Simonsenfestschrift* S. 127, zu den Stellen im Babli Vgl. noch Aptowitzer, *Hebrew Union College Annual* III S. 130.

[14] IV Esra 6. 43–44 (Kautzsch II, 367).

[15] Philo, *De op. mundi* §12 (ed. Cohn I 127 §§40–42. Übs. I. S. 40).—"Geschaffen" ist vom biblischen Sprachgebrauch beeinflusst, gemeint ist natürlich in Erscheinung treten.

Aus der Agada, und nur aus ihr, ist auch die Bemerkung Nazzams zu verstehen, dass ein Teil im anderen verborgen war. Es ist der Satz R. Berechias: "Die Erde bringe hervor" (Gen. 1.12, 24) das heisst, sie bringe hervor etwas was in ihr aufbewahrt ist.[16] "Die Erde bringe hervor"—weil die Haus-und Feldtiere am ersten Tage in der Erde geschaffen wurden und nicht an die Oberfläche kamen, sondern in ihr verborgen waren.[16a]

Derselbe Gedanke fast wörtlich bei Philo:

"Er befiehlt also der Erde diese Dinge hervorzubringen und sie bringt, wie wenn sie schon längst schwanger gewesen wäre, all die unzähligen Arten von Pflanzen, Bäumen und Früchten hervor."[17] An-Nazzam ist nicht der einzige unter den Arabern, der die Lehre von der Schöpfung der Welt auf einmal kennt. Die Lauteren Brüder erwähnen diese Anschauung und kämpfen gegen sie, ohne aber auf sie ganz verzichten zu wollen; sie lassen sie gelten und betonen sie in bezug auf die geistige Welt, während sie bei den Naturdingen Entwicklung und allmähliches Werden für notwendig erklären.

"Der Verständige, welcher über die Art und Weise wie die Welt entstanden sei nachforscht . . ., kann nur eine von drei Ansichten hegen. (1) Kann er meinen: Gott habe die Welt stufenweise und der Reihenfolge nach allmählich im Laufe der Zeiten geschaffen; (2) Gott habe die Welt auf einmal geschaffen, oder (3) Gott habe die Welt zum Theile allmählich und stufenweis, zum Theile plötzlich, zeitlos geschaffen.—Der Vernunft nach ist kein anderer Fall möglich. Wer nun behauptet, Gott habe die Welt auf einmal zeitlos geschaffen, findet für das, was er sagt und meint, keinen Zeugenbeweis, so dass er in dem was er sagt zweifelt.—Wer dagegen behauptet, Gott habe die Welt allmählich in Ordnung und Reihung hervorgerufen, der findet für das was er sagt viele Zeugnisse im Vorhandenen, so in den Teildingen, wenn er sie einzeln durchgeht. Wer dagegen behauptet, Gott habe die Welt zum Theile plötzlich mit einemmale, zum Theile aber allmählich geschaffen, muss dies näher erklären und sagen, die

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[16] Gen. r. XII 4.

[16a] Midr. Agada ed. Buber S. 4 zu Gen. 1.24: ויאמר אלהים תוצא הארץ, לפי שהבהמות והחיות נבראו בארץ ביום ראשון ולא יצאו אל פני כל הארץ אבל היו מובלעים בתוכה.

[17] *De op.* §13 (Cohn S. 13 §43. Übs. S. 41).

Dinge der Natur wurden der Reihe nach allmählich im Laufe der Zeiten hervorgerufen, denn bei der Allmaterie, d.i. dem absoluten Körper, bedurfte es einer langen Zeit bis dass sich das Feine von dem Dicken scheide und reinige und bis die runden durchsichtigen Himmelskörper ihre Gestaltung annahmen und eine in die andere gefügt wurde; bis die leuchtenden Sterne kreisten, die Mittelpunkte gelegt waren und bis die vier Elemente sich schieden, sie geordnet und gereiht wurden. Hiefür gilt als Beweiss Kor. 32.3: 'Gott schuf Himmel und Erde und was zwischen beiden liegt in sechs Tagen.' Ferner 22.46: 'Fürwahr ein Tag ist bei deinem Herrn wie tausend Jahr gezählt.' Die göttlichen, geistigen Dinge, die schaffende Vernunft, die Allseele dagegen wurden plötzlich wohlgeordnet und gereiht ohne Zeit und Ort, ohne Stoff. Es war vielmehr nur das Wort sei und es war."[18]

Zum zweiten Satz der Schöpfungslehre Nazzams führt Horovitz folgendes aus:

"Vom stoischen Standpunkte aus begreifen wir auch wie Nazzam behaupten konnte, dass auch die Schöpfung Adams der

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[18] Dieterici, *Weltseele* S. 143 f.—Dieselbe Unterscheidung zwischen Formenwelt und Naturwelt auch in der sogenannten "Theologie des Aristoteles." So heisst es daselbst: "Somit ist es klar und richtig . . . dass der Urschöpfer vor allen Dingen bestehe, und dass er zugleich Schöpfer und Vollender sei, auch zwischen seinem Schaffen und Vollenden es durchaus keine Scheidung noch Trennung gebe (ed. Dieterici S. 40).

Ferner: Der Urschaffer schafft alle Dinge die er macht, ohne Vermittelung, zugleich, mit einem Mal. (das. S. 34). Aber an einer dritten Stelle heisst es: Er schuf die *Form* und ihre Zustände zusammen, nicht etwa eine nach der andern sondern sie alle zusammen und mit einem Mal . . . Was Zu-und Abnahme annimmt, liegt in der Welt des Entstehens und Vergehens. Dies nimmt eben deshalb Ab-und Zunahme an, weil ihr Schaffer, d. i. die Natur, defekt ist. Dieselbe ist defekt, weil sie die Eigenschaften der Dinge nicht alle zugleich hervorruft und deshalb nehmen die Naturdinge Zu-und Abnahme an. Die Dinge in der Hochwelt nehmen Ab-und Zunahme aber nicht an, denn der, welcher sie hervorrief ist vollendet, vollkommen; der schafft ihr Wesen und ihre Eigenschaften auf einmal und sind solche deshalb vollkommen (Das. S. 142 f).

Es ist daher ungenau, wenn Jakob Guttmann, *Lewy-Festschrift* S. 322 bemerkt, dass zu der bei Saadja und Maimuni vorkommenden Ansicht von der gleichzeitigen Erschaffung aller Dinge sich auch der Mutazilit an-Nazzam bekannt hatte, dazu den Wortlaut an-Nazzams bei Schahrastani anführt und dazu bemerkt: "Ebeno lehrt die sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles (S. 40, 94, 142)."

Schöpfung seiner Nachkommen nicht vorangegangen sei, begreifen wir den Zusatz, mit welchem Kahir al-B. die Lehre N.s versieht, da ja nach den Stoikern in der Tat auch die Individuen im Voraus bestimmt sind, wobei hier besonders an die Lehre erinnert werden kann, dass in jeder künftigen Weltperiode die gleichen Individuen wie in jeder vorhergehenden auftreten (Sokrates und Xantippe, sein Ankläger Anytos) und bis aufs Einzelne ganz die nämlichen Vorgänge sich abspielen werden."[19]

Es braucht aber nicht erst des längeren erörtert zu werden, dass diese Herleitung des Satzes Nazzams allzu gekünstelt ist. Nazzam sagt nichts anderes und nichts weniger, als dass in Adam das gesamte Menschengeschlecht enthalten war; auch hier denkt Nazzam nicht an die Form, die Idee des Menschen, sondern an den Menschen in seiner ganzen Leibhaftigkeit.

Dieser Gedanke findet sich in der Agada:

1. "Während Adam noch als lebloser Körper dalag, zeigte Gott ihm (d. h. seinem Geiste) alle Gerechten, die dereinst von ihm hervorgehen werden. Die einzelnen Gerechten haben ihren Ursprung in den einzelnen Körperteilen Adams; der eine im Kopfe Adams, der andere in dessen Haar, ein anderer wieder in dessen Stirne, Augen, Nase, Mund, Ohr und Kinnlade. Beweis hiefür ist Hiob 38, 4, wo Gott zu Hiob spricht: 'Sage mir deine Beschaffenheit, von welchem Körperteile Adams du abstammst, von seinem Kopfe, seiner Stirne oder einem anderen Körperteile; wenn du mir dies sagst, dann, dann darfst du mit mir streiten.' "[20]

2. "Der erste Adam war gross von einem Ende der Welt bis zum anderen, daher wollten die Engel vor ihm 'Heilig' rufen, da verkleinerte ihn Gott, indem er von seinen Gliedern Stücke abnahm, die dann um Adam herumlagen. Adam spricht zu Gott: 'Warum beraubst du mich?' Gott antwortete ihm: 'Ich werde dir deinen Schaden vielfach ersetzen,—dies ist es was gesagt wurde, der Sohn Davids wird nicht früher kommen, bis nicht alle Seelen im Körper zu Ende sein werden,[21]—nimm diese Stücke und trage

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[19] a. a. O. S. 24.

[20] Ex. r. XL 3; Tan. כי תשא §2; Vgl. Aptowitzer *Simonsenfestschrift* S. 120.

[21] Yebamot 62a. Die Heranziehung dieser Agada kann nur so erklärt werden, dass unter *Guf* der Körper Adams zu verstehen sei, in dem alle Seelen bis zum Ende aller Geschlechter enthalten waren. So erklärt richtig *Yalḳuṭ*

sie in alle Gegenden der Erde; wo du sie hinwerfen wirst, werden sie in Staub verwandelt werden, und dort wird die Erde von deinen Nachkommen bewohnt werden; die Orte, die du für Israel bestimmen wirst, werden Israel gehören, die Orte die du für die anderen Völker bestimmen wirst, werden den anderen Völkern gehören.' "[22]

In dieser Agada wird also gesagt, dass in Adam das gesamte Menschengeschlecht enthalten war. In der Seele Adams alle Seelen und in seinem Körper alle Leiber. Also ist—wie Nazzam sich ausdrückt—die Schöpfung Adams nicht der Schöpfung seiner Kinder vorausgegangen und daher geht auch, wie Kahir al-B. meint, die Schöpfung der Mütter nicht der Schöpfung der Kinder voraus, da die Mütter und ihre Kinder und Kindeskinder bis zum Ende aller Geschlechter schon in Adam enthalten waren.

Der Gedanke, dass das gesamte Menschengeschlecht in Adam enthalten war, kommt auch in folgender Agada zum Ausdruck.

"Als Adam von der verbotenen Frucht jenes Baumes ass (und über ihn die Strafe der Sterblichkeit verhängt wurde) gingen alle Geschlechter zu ihm hinein und sagten: 'Meinst du etwa, dass Gott dir Unrecht tut?' 'Behüte,' antwortete Adam, 'ich selbst habe mir den Tod zugezogen.' "[23]

Ḥadash ed. Amsterdam 6d §83. vgl. noch 8a §113; 126a §89. Vgl. *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* Kap. VII Anf.

[22] *Buch der Frommen* No. 500, ed. Wistinetzki 290 §745. Vgl. Aptowitzer, *Simonsenfestschrift* S. 120. Das erinnert an den Purusha-Mythos bei Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 210: Als sie den Purusha zerlegten, wie vielfach verteilten sie ihn? Was ward sein Mund, was die Arme, was die Schenkel und Füsse genannt? Der Brahmane war sein Mund. Die Arme wurden zu Râjania, seine Schenkel zum Vaiçya, aus den Füssen entsprang der Çudra. Der Mond ist entstanden aus dem Geiste, aus dem Auge entstand die Sonne, aus dem Munde Indra und Agni, aus dem Atem entstand Vâyu, aus dem Nabel ward der Luftraum, aus dem Haupte entwickelte sich der Himmel, aus den Füssen die Erde, die Weltgegenden aus dem Ohre. So bildeten sie die Welten. Vgl. Bousset das. SS. 209, 211. Anm. 1.

Ob die bei den Gnostikern vorkommende Bezeichnung des Urmenschen als *ψυχή ἀπάντων*, *ἄνθρωπος τέλειος* und anima generalis denselben Gedanken wie die Agada ausdrücken oder wie Andrae *die Person Muhammeds* S. 349 meint, damit der Urmensch als Idee des Menschengeschlechtes bezeichnet wird, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Ausführliches über das Thema bei B. Murmelstein *WZKM* XXXV S. 761f.

[23] Pes. ed. Buber 118a.

Der Gedanke auch in der muhammedanischen Legende:

"Gott schloss dann auch ein Bündnis mit Adams Nachkommen, er berührte nämlich seinen Rücken und, siehe da, alle Menschen, welche bis zum Ende der Welt geboren werden, krochen aus seinem Rücken hervor, in der Grösse einer Ameise und reihten sich ihm zur Rechten und zur Linken."[24]

"Als Gott, der Erhabene, die beiden Handvoll zusammenfasste, indem Er über den Rücken Adam's, auf dem der Friede, strich, sammelte Er das erste Mal das, was Er zusammennahm, immer nur von der rechten Hälfte, und das andere Mal sammelte er das, was er zusammennahm, immer nur von der linken Hälfte. Dann zeigte Er, der Gepriesene, ihm Seine beiden Handvoll geöffnet vor; da schaute Adam, auf dem der Friede sei, zu ihnen hin, und sie waren auf Seinen edlen Handflächen gleichwie kleine Ameisen . . . Darauf wies Er sie an ihren Platz zurück. Sie waren aber als Lebewesen nur Seelen ohne Körper; und nachdem Er sie zum Rückgrat Adam's, auf dem der Friede sei, zurückgewiesen hatte, liess Er sie sterben, fasste ihren Geist zusammen und tat ihn in eine der Kammern des Thrones."[25]

"Das erste was Gott schuf, war Muhammed und seine Familie, die Leiter der Geleiteten, sie waren Gestalten aus Licht vor Gott."[26] "Allah sagte zu Muhammed: Ich habe dich und Ali geschaffen als Lichter, das ist Geister ohne Körper, ehe ich die Himmel und die Erde erschuf."[27]

Allah schuf vor allen Wesen das Licht seines Propheten von seinem Lichte. Und dieses Licht kreiste um die Allmacht, wohin Gott wollte. Zu dieser Zeit existierte nicht die Tafel, nicht die Feder, noch gar das Paradies oder Hölle, Sonne oder Mond, noch Engel, Ǧinn oder Mensch, nicht Himmel oder Erde. Als Gott die Welt erschaffen wollte, teilte er dieses Licht in vier Teile. Aus dem ersten schuf er die Feder, aus dem zweiten die Tafel, aus dem dritten den Thron. Den vierten teilte er wieder in vier Teile und schuf von dem ersten die Träger des Thrones, von dem zweiten den Stuhl, von dem dritten die übrigen Engel. Den vierten teilte er in vier Teile und schuf von dem ersten die Himmel, von dem zweiten die (sieben) Erden, von dem dritten das Paradies und die Hölle. Den vierten teilte er in vier Teile und schuf aus dem ersten das Licht der Blicke der Gläubigen, von dem zweiten das Licht ihres Herzens, von dem dritten das Licht ihres Augensternes, das ist der *tauḥid*.[28]

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[24] Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, S. 34. Vgl. Schaʿrâni angeführt bei Flügel *ZDMG* XX, S. 11. Diese Legende geht auf Kuran 7.171 zurück. Vgl. Sale z. St. S. 122.

[25] Ghazali, *Die Kostbare Perle im Wissen des Jenseits* übs. von Mohammed Brugsch, Hannover 1924 S. 7 f.

[26] Andrae a. a. O. S. 343.

[27] Das. S. 315.

II. ADAM, DER URKÖRPER.

In der früher erwähnten Agada wird Adam als der Körper (גוף) bezeichnet. Dies führt zu der Vorstellung, Adam = Urkörper, d.h. aus Adam ist die Welt enstanden.[29] Diesen Gedanken finden wir, wie wir sehen werden, in der Agada noch viel deutlicher. Verbindet man mit diesem Gedanken die Vorstellung Messias-Adam, so ergibt sich der Satz: aus dem Messias ist die Welt entstanden. Daher heisst es bei den Arabern, für die Muhammed der Messias ist, dass *aus Muhammed die Welt entstanden ist.*

"Die Weltschöpfung beginnt damit, dass in der *haqiq al-kubijja* eine neue Wesenheit hervortrat, als eine göttliche Manifestation. Sie ist eine Wolke von Atomen, in der die ganze Welt in potentieller Form enthalten ist. In dieser Staubwolke offenbart sich Gott mit seinem Lichte und die potentiellen Formen empfangen mehr oder minder von diesem Lichte nach ihrer verschiedenen Disposition. Am meisten empfänglich war da die *haqiq muham-*

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[28] Das. S. 317.

[29] Vielleicht auch erfolgte die Entwicklung in umgekehrter Richtung, dass die kosmologische Auffassung das Aeltere und die anthropologische das Jüngere ist. So in gnostischen Systemen: "Der Urmensch, der durch das Schauen der Materie verlockt, in diese hinabsinkt oder durch die Liebe zu seinem Spiegelbilde, das er schaut, hinabgezogen wird, und der obere himmlische Adam, der von den Archonten verlockt wird in sein körperliches Ebenbild hinabzusteigen, sind in der Tat parallele Figuren, nur dass wir hier die anthropologische und dort die kosmogonische Wendung des Mythus haben. Und wie die kosmogonische in die anthropologische Auffassung übergeht, dafür bieten uns wieder die Spekulationen des Poimandres das beste Beispiel" (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 193 f. Vgl. das. S. 182 f.).

madijja, die *al'agl* (*nous*) genannt wird. Aus ihr entstand die Welt nach dem Vorbild in dem göttlichen Wissen."[30]

"Die Tradition berichtet, dass Gott der Hocherhabene einen Baum geschaffen, der viertausend Zweige hat und ihm den Namen gegeben: Baum der Erkentniss. Dann schuf er in der Scheidewand das Licht Muhammeds, über dem das Heil sei, von weisser Perle in einer dem Pfaue ähnlichen Gestalt.[31] Und er setzte es auf diesen Baum und daselbst pries es Gott siebzigtausend Jahre lang. Darauf schuf Gott den Spiegel der Scham und stellte ihn demselben gegenüber. Als nun der Pfau hineinschaute, da sah er die Schönheit seiner Form und Zierlichkeit seiner Gestalt und schämte sich vor Gott in gebührender Scham und fiel fünf Mal nieder. Dies Niederfallen wurde daher zum festeheneden Gebote für uns und deshalb hat auch Gott der Hocherhabene, Muhammed fünf Gebete anbefohlen. Gott blickte dann auf dieses Licht und es kam aus Scham vor ihm in Schweiss. Er schuf nun aus dem Schweisse seines Hauptes die Engel, aus dem seines Gesichtes den obersten und untersten Thron, die Tafel, die Feder, das Paradies, die Hölle, die Sonne, den Mond, die Sterne, die Scheidewand und alles was im Himmel ist; aus dem Schweisse seiner Brust schuf er die Propheten, die Gottgesandten, die Gelehrten, die Märtyrer und die Frommen; aus dem Schweisse seines Rückens schuf er die himmlische und die irdische Kaaba, den Tempel in Jerusalem und die Plätze der Moscheen dieser Welt;[32] aus dem Schweisse seiner Augenbrauen schuf er seine (Muhammeds) Gemeinde, d.h. die gläubigen Männer und Frauen, die Moslimen männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechts; aus dem Schweisse seiner Ohren schuf er die Seelen der Juden, Christen und Magier und was ihnen ähnlich ist; aus dem Schweisse seiner Füsse endlich schuf er die Erde von Osten bis zum Westen und was auf ihr sich befindet."[33]

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[30] Qastallāni bei Andrae a. a. O. S. 317.

[31] "Das erste aus Gott entstehende Wesen ist der Pfau, der mit der weissen Perle wesensverwandt ist" (Horten, *Philosophie des Islam* S. 126). "Alle Dinge, Hügel, Berge, Himmel und Sterne sind aus der 'weissen Perle' geformt und an sich gut lichtartig, himmlisch göttlich" (das. S. 127). "Der erste Adam, den Gott nach seinem Ebenbilde erschaffen hat," der Weltpol oder die Weltachse um die sich alle Sphären drehen, der "weisse Hyazinth," die "weisse Perle," das Urlicht, das aus dem verborgenen Weltgrunde geflossen ist, der Pfau,—ein bekanntes Sonnensymbol—dass Licht Muhammeds, die "Urwesenheit Muhammeds" (das. S. 161). Vgl. noch das. SS. 115, 149.

[32] Vgl. weiter unten Anm. 92.

Zieht man von dieser Tradition die phantastisch mystische Aussschmückung ab, so bleiben die folgenden Grundgedanken:

1. Weisheit das erste Erschaffene, Weisheit Schöpfungsprinzip.
2. Erschaffung des Lichtes vor der Erschaffung der Welt, Licht = Urstoff.
3. Präexistenz des Messias.
4. Adam = Urstoff.
5. Adam = Prototyp Muhammeds.

Was die letzte Auschauung betrifft, so ist sie eine Nachbildung der christlichen Theorie von der Identität Jesu mit Adam.[34] Die übrigen Grundgedanken dieser Tradition sind im jüdischen Schrifttum vertreten.

1a. Gott schuf mich als den Anfang seiner Wege, als erstes seiner Werke vorlängst. Von Ewigkeit her, bin ich eingesetzt, zu Anbeginn, seit dem Ursprung der Erde.[34a]

b. Früher als alle Dinge ward die Weisheit geschaffen und die verständige Einsicht seit Ewigkeit.[35]

c. Und bei dir ist die Weisheit die deine Werke kennt und die zugegen war, als du die Welt schufst.[36]

d. Meine Weisheit ist meine Ratgeberin . . .[37] Und ich befahl meiner Weisheit den Menschen zu schaffen.[38]

In der Agada tritt die Torah an Stelle der Weisheit.[39]

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[33] *Muh. Eschatologie* ed. Wolf S. 192–194 ff.

[34] Vgl. Aptowitzer *REJ* 1924 S. 147, ausführlich bei Murmelstein *WZKM* XXXV SS. 242–275.

[34a] Prov. 8.22–23.

[35] Sirach 1.4.

[36] Weisheit Salomos 9.9.

[37] Slavischer Henoch ed. Charles 33.4.

[38] Das. 30.8. Daraus stammt der Satz bei Ps. Clemens: *εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ᾗ αὐτοῦ σοφίᾳ εἶπεν ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον*. Vgl. Bergmann *REJ* XLVI 98.

[39] So schon Sirach 24.8. Dort spricht die Weisheit und sagt u. a.: "Bei ihnen allen suchte ich einen Ruheort . . . Da gebot mir der Schöpfer aller Dinge . . . und sprach: In Jakob nimm deinen Wohnsitz und in Israel erhalte sie zum Eigentum." Ähnlich im Buche Baruch 4.1 (Kautzsch I, 221): "Sie (die Weisheit) ist Buch der Gebote Gottes, das Gesetz das in Ewigkeit besteht."

Abot R. Natan ed. Schechter S. 162: Vor der Erschaffung der Welt war die Torah verborgen in der Schatzkammer der Weisheit. Gen. R. XVII, 5, XLIV, 17. Die Absonderung der himmlischen Weisheit ist die Torah.

So heisst es in der Agada, dass die Torah präexistent war[40] und zwar, zwei tausend Jahre[41] oder 974 Geschlechter[42] vor der Erschaffung der Welt. Die Torah war das Schöpfungsorgan Gottes, er schaute in die Torah and schuf so die Welt.[43]

2. Das Licht vor der Erschaffung der Welt: "Dann befahlst du einen Strahl des Lichtes aus deinen Kammern zu holen, dass deine Werke sichtbar werden."[44]

R. Jehuda sagt: Das Licht wurde zuerst geschaffen. Ein König will einen Palast an einem dunklen Platze bauen, da bringt er zuerst Lampen und Laternen an, um zu sehen wie die Fundamente zu errichten.[45]

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[40] Sirach 24.9: Von Ewigkeit her, von Anfang an schuf er mich und bis in Ewigkeit werde ich nicht aufhören. Abot VI, 11 (Mekilta בשלח Parasha 9 Ende, ed. Hoffmann S. 69; Sifre Deut. §309; Pesaḥim 87b; Kalla r. VIII; Seder Eliahu r. IX (ed. Friedmann S. 187) XVII, Sifre Deut. §37, Pesaḥim 54a, Nedarim 39b; Gen. r. I, 4; Tanḥuma נשא §11 (ed. Buber §19) Mid. Ps. 93.3; Mid. Prov. VII Anf.; Pirḳe R. Eliezer III; Seder Eliahu r. XV (ed. Friedmann S. 71), XXI (ed. Friedmann S. 160); Bet ha-Midr. V. 63, 69.

[41] Gen. r. VIII 2; Lev. r. XIX Anf.; Cant. r. V 11; Tan. וישב § 4; Mid. Sam. V 2; Mid. Ps. XC 12. Vgl. Mid. Zehn Gebote im Bet ha-Midr. I S. 67, V 68; Mid. Abkir in Yalḳuṭ Ex. §368 = Buber, Liḳḳuṭim S. 22 §53.

[42] Abot R. Natan XXXI; Shab. 88b; Zeb. 116a; Seder Eliahu r. II (ed. Friedmann S. 9), VII (S. 33), XVII Anf. (S. 61), XXIV (S. 130). Vgl. Abot R. Natan ed. Schechter S. 162. Halachot Gedolot, Einleitung Anf. Vgl. noch Ḥagiga 13b; Gen. r. XXVIII 4; Koheleth r. I 15; XIV 3; Tan. לך לך §11, יתרו §9, Mid. Ps. XC 13; CV 3; Zur Zahl der Geschlechter vgl. Jehuda Barzilais Yezirahkommentar S. 84, 86 f.

[43] Abot III 13; Gen. r. I, 1; Tan. בראשית §1 (ed. Buber §5); Mid. Ps. L 1; Seder Eliahu r. XXXI (ed. Friedmann S. 160); Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer III; vgl. slav. Henoch, kürzere Redaktion XXXIII 3. S. 81, Abot R. Natan ed. Schechter S. 162. Fragmententargum zu Gen. 1. 1; Num. r. XII 4; vgl. Bet ha-Midr. V 67. Aus dieser Anschauung entstand die Dichtung vom Wettstreit der Buchstaben, von denen jeder die Ehre für sich in Anspruch nahm, dass mit ihm die Welt erschaffen werden soll. Midrash der zehn Gebote im Bet ha-Midrash I 63; A-B d. R. Akiba im Bet ha-Midrash III 55 (ed. Wertheimer 59 f.); Mid. ha-Gadol ed. Schechter S. 10. Vgl. Sohar Einleitung zu Genesis 2b-3b. Es ist geläufig, die Weisheit in Bibel und Apokryphen mit dem philonischen Logos zu identifizieren. Vgl. besonders Eduard Schwartz, *Nachrichten der König. Ges. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse* S. 537 ff. (1908), Wellhausen, *Ev. Joh.* S. 123. Dieser Anschauung folgt auch Neumark, *Geschichte der jüd. Philosophie.* Vgl. besonders II 454 f. Aber einer der besten Philokenner hat gezeigt, dass die Theorie Schwartzens ein Irrtum ist. Vgl. L. Cohn in Judaica, *Festschrift zu Hermann Cohens 70. Geburtstage,* Berlin 1912, 303 ff.

[44] IV Esra 6.40. Aus diesem Wortlaut folgt, dass das Licht präexistent war. Vgl. auch die Anmerkungen Gunkels bei Kautzsch, *Apokryphen* II S. 367.

R. Simon b. Jozadak fragte den R. Samuel b. Naḥman: Da ich von dir gehört habe, dass du ein Agadist bist, sage mir, wie schuf Gott die Welt. Er antwortete: Als Gott die Welt erschaffen wollte, hüllte er sich in Licht und schuf so die Welt, wie es heisst (Ps. 104.2): Der sich in Licht hüllt wie in einen Mantel, und nachher heisst es: den Himmel ausspannt wie ein Zelttuch."[46]

3. Präexistenz des Messias.[47] Nun ist aber für die Muhammedaner Muhammed der Messias,[48] daher Muhammed präexistent.

4. Adam, das erste Geschöpf = Kosmos. Die Auffassung des Urmenschen als kosmologische Potenz, als Grundwesen aller Dinge, als *Makrokosmos* ist eine in der indischen Religion heimische, im Parsismus nachwirkende, in den hermetischen und gnostischen Schriften geläufige und in vielen Agadoth deutlich ausgesprochene Vorstellung. Bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung zeigt unsere muhammedanische Tradition mit ihrer Ableitung der einzelnen Teile der Werke von bestimmten Teilen ihres Urmenschen Muhammed eine starke Ähnlichkeit mit dem Purushamythos:

"Als die Götter mit Purusha, als Opfergruss, ein Opfer bereiteten, ward der Frühling sein Opferschmalz, der Sommer sein Brennholz, der Herbst der Opfergruss, Von diesem alles darbringenden Opfer entstanden die Rig-und die Sâmalieder . . . Als sie den Purusha zerlegten, wie vielfach verteilten sie ihn? Was wurde sein Mund, was die Arme, was Schenkel und Füsse genannt? Der Brahmane war sein Mund. Die Arme wurden zu Râjania, seine Schenkel zun Vaiçya, aus den Füssen entsprang der Çudra. Der Mond ist entstanden aus dem Geiste, aus dem Auge entstand die

[45] Gen. r. III 1; Vgl. Ex. r. XV 22, Ḻ Anf. Vgl. Tan. Buber בראשית §10; ויקהל §7.

[46] Tan. Buber בראשית §10 ויקהל §7. In Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer III sind die Himmel aus dem Lichte geschaffen. Ausführlich über dieses Thema bei Aptowitzer, Zur Kosmologie der Agada, *Monatsschrift* 72 (1928) S. 363–370.

[47] Pes. 54a; Ned. 39b; Gen. r. I, 4; Tan. נשא §11 (ed. Buber §19); Mid. Psalm. XCIII §3; Mid. Prov. VIII Anf.; Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer III; Seder Eliahu r. XV (ed. Friedmann S. 71), XXXI (S. 160).

[48] Dies ist allgemein bekannt. Vgl. Sprenger I 156.

Sonne, aus dem Munde Indra und Agni, aus dem Atem entstand Vâyu, aus dem Nabel ward der Luftraum, aus dem Haupt entwickelte sich der Himmel, aus den Füssen die Erde, die Weltgegenden aus dem Ohre. So bildeten sie die Welten."[49]

Aber Purusha wird von den Göttern getötet oder geopfert; ebenso wird der persische Urmensch Gayomand von Ahriman besiegt und getötet.[50] Hier beginnt also die Weltbildung mit dem Tode des Urmenschen.[51] Dieser Zug ist unserer Tradition fremd.

Die heidnische und die christliche Gnosis wieder spricht von einem Doppelwesen: Der ideale, pneumatische Urmensch, der erstgeborene Sohn der höchsten Gottheit, ein *δεύτερος ϑεός*, versinkt in die Materie oder wird von ihr herabgelockt, er zieht dann dem von den Elementen gebildeten irdischen Adam an und gibt so den Anstoss zur Weltbildung.[52] Auch davon weiss die muhammedanische Tradition nichts. In ihr kommt die kosmologische Deutung des Urmenschen einfach und kurz, ohne jedes Beiwerk zum Ausdruck: Muhammed ist das Grundwesen aller Dinge, aus ihm entsteht alles Geistige und alles Irdische, Muhammed der erste Adam ist Makrokosmos. In dieser einfachen, reinen Form wird der Gedanke in der Agada ausgesprochen.

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[49] Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 210, Vgl. oben Anm. 22. Nach der Ansicht mancher Forscher sind der Purusha-Mythos und ähnliche Sagen wahrscheinlich mesopotamischen (= semitischen) Ursprunges (Wesendonck, *Urmensch und Seele* S. 179).

[50] Bousset das. S. 215: "Auch hier ist noch die Idee erhalten, dass mit dessen Tod die Weltentwicklung beginnt, und deutlich zeigen sich hie und da Spuren von einem ursprünglich kosmologischen Charakter des Urmenschen, z. B. wenn aus seinem Körper die Metalle entstanden sein sollen." Vgl. auch weiter unten, Anm. 74.

[51] "So heisst es auch in der nordischen Sage, dass die Götter den Urriesen Ymir zerstückelt und aus seinem Fleisch die Erde, aus seinen Knochen die Gebirge, aus seinem Schädel den Himmel, aus seinem Schweiss die Seeen, aus seinen Haaren den Baum, aus seinen Brauen den Midgand und aus seinem Gebein die Wolken gebildet haben" (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 211).

Ähnlichkeit damit hat die babylonische Sage: Als Bel die Erde vereinsamt aber doch fruchttragend gesehen habe, habe er einem der Götter befohlen ihm den Kopf abzuschlagen, mit dem herausfliessenden Blute die Erde zu mischen und die Menschen und Tiere zu bilden, welche vermöchten die Luft zu ertragen. Bel habe aber auch die Gestirne, sowie Sonne, Mond und die fünf Planeten geschaffen (Jeremias, *Handbuch d. altorient. Geisteskultur*).

Zwar ist es hier ein Gott, aus dessen Blute ein grosser Teil des Kosmos entsteht, aber im babylonischen Mythus wird der Urmensch oft mit Göttern identifiziert (Jeremias das. S. 205).

[52] Vgl. oben Amn. 29.

Dazu kommt, dass in der auch der Agada bekannten, aus der kosmologischen Deutung entstandenen anthropologischen Auffassung Adams ebenfalls verschiedene Menschen (Gerechte) aus einzelnen Teilen des Leibes Adams entstanden sind.[53] Es kann daher mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit behauptet werden, dass die muhammedanische Tradition ihre Auffassung Adams als kosmologische Potenz der Agada entlehnt hat. “R. Jehuda sagt im Namen Rab’s: Als Gott die Welt[54] erschaffen wollte, schuf er eine Gruppe der Dienstengel und fragte sie: Wollet ihr, dass wir Adam nach unserem Ebenbilde schaffen?. . .”[55]

Der Sinn dieser Agada kann nur der sein, dass Adam Urstoff ist. Dieser Gedanke ergibt sich auch aus anderen Agadot, die ich schon an einer anderen Stelle behandelt habe.[56] Hier sei noch

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[53] Vgl. oben S. 214.

[54] So die Lesart in Dikduke Soferim und Yalkuṭ Makiri zu Psalm 8.18. R. Hananel z. St. hat die Lesart “seine Welt,” für die Sache aber bedeutet diese Differenz nichts. Ebenso heisst es in anderem Zussammenhange, Tan. בחוקותי §4: Als Gott die Welt erschaffen wollte, da sagten die Dienstengel: Was bedeutet der *Mensch*, dass Du seiner gedenkest (Psalm 8.18) . . . Auch hier ist die Gleichung Adam = Welt als bekannt vorausgesetzt. In ed. Mantua hat man, da die Agada nicht verstanden wurde, hinzugefügt: Als Gott die Welt erschaffen wollte und Adam erschaffen wollte, um so die Beziehung auf Psalm 8.18 verständlich zu machen. Vgl. Aptowitzer in *Simonsenfestschrift* S. 117 und S. 127 Amn. 18. Die Lesart: “Als Gott den *Menschen* schaffen wollte” auch im Yalkuṭ ha-Makiri Psalmen 8 §19.

Der Ausspruch Rabs anonym auch im Tan. בחוקותי §4, so in den alten Ausgaben. In späteren Ausgaben, wo der Satz nicht mehr verstanden wurde, hat man aus Unverständnis hinzugefügt “und Adam schaffen wollte.” Ein anderer Kopist war noch gescheiter und änderte לעולם in לאדם, so in ed. Buber §6 Vgl. Buber z. St. Amn. 33.

[55] Sanh. 38b. Vgl. A-B des R. Akiba in Bet ha-Midr. III 59, ed. Wertheimer S. 73: Alef d. i. Adam-Taw, er ist der Beginn תחלה der Weltschöpfung.

[56] *Simonsenfestschrift* S. 119 f. Vgl. früher oben Anm. 22. Ein ähnlicher Text wie der von mir a. a. O. S. 115 behandelte Text des Midr. Abkir auch in dem Sammelwerk Talmud Tora des Jakob Sekili aus Midr. Ruth, mitgeteilt von Ginzberg im *Hazofeh* IV S. 35. Der Text kommt in unserem Midrash Ruth nicht vor, wie schon Ginzberg bemerkt.

Der Grundgedanke der in der erwähnten Stelle besprochenen Texte im folgende hinzugefügt: "Adam lag hingestreckt von einem Ende der Welt bis zum anderen, von Osten nach Westen, von Norden nach Süden, von der Erde bis zum Himmel."[57] Dies kann nichts anderes sagen als: Adam = Kosmos = Materie des Kosmos. Eine starke Stütze für diese meine Auffassung finde ich in folgender Ausführung:

"Hinten und vorn hast du mich gebildet, d.h. als Gott Adam schuf, lag dieser als Klumpen von einem Ende der Welt bis zum anderen, wie es heisst (Deut. 4.32): 'Denn frage doch in den früheren Zeiten nach, die vor dir gewesen sind.' Ich könnte meinen das beziehe sich auch auf die Zeit vor der Schöpfung, daher heisst

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Midr. Abkir und bei Jakob Sekili ist der, dass Adams Körper das erste Schöpfungswerk war, während der Geist ihm erst am sechsten Tag eingehaucht wurde. Diese Vorstellung bezeichnet Ginzberg als eine häretische und findet sie auch bei Epiphanius, *Haer.* I 4, 4. Aber bei Epiphanius in der erwähnten Stelle ist keine Spur für diese Anschauung vorhanden. Die Stelle (Dindorf I 282) lautet folgendermassen:

"Am Anfang nämlich wurde Adam am sechsten Tage aus der Erde geschaffen und nachdem er den Geist empfangen, wurde er zum lebenden Wesen. Nicht aber, wie manche behaupten, wurde er am fünften Tag angefangen und am sechsten zu Ende gebildet." *καὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς 'Αδὰμ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πλασθεὶς ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ἐμφύσημα ἐζωογονήθη· οὐ γὰρ, ὥς τινες οἴονται, ἀπό πεμπτης ἤρξατο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπλάσθη.*

Wir haben also in dieser Stelle zwei Angaben, die mit der Bibel übereinstimmende, des Epiphanius, und die Ansicht anderer, dass die Schöpfung Adams schon am fünften Tage begonnen, die, beide, mit der im Mid. Abkir erhaltenen Vorstellung nicht das Geringste zu tun haben.

Die Ansicht der *τινες* ist, wie ich glaube, in folgender Weise zu erklären: Sie ist aus einem missverstandenen agadischen Ausspruch entstanden. Epiphanius hörte die Erklärung, dass נפש חיה der Geist Adams ist. Es ist die Ansicht R. Eleäzars in Gen. r. VIII 1: דאמר ר' אלעזר . . . תוצא הארץ נפש חיה זו רוחו של אדם הראשון. Gemeint ist Gen. 1.24 (sechster Schöpfungstag),Epiphanius aber dachte an Gen. 1.20 (fünfter Schöpfungstag) und konstruierte so die Ansicht, dass die Bildung Adams am fünften Tage begonnen hat.

[57] Abot R. Natan II Rez. VIII (11b); Ḥag. 12a; Sanh. 38b; Gen. r. VIII 1; XXI 3, XXIV 2; Pes. r. XXIII Anf. (ed. Friedmann 115a). Vgl. Gen. r. XIV 8; Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer XI; Pes. r. XLVI (167b). Vgl. noch Pes. ed. Buber 1b, 45a; Gen. r. XII 6, XIX 8 E; Cant. r. zu 3. 7; Pes. r. XV (61b); Num. r. XIII 2. Wahrscheinlich ist dies auch in Abot R. Natan I. 1. E. gemeint. Vgl. A-B des R. Akiba ed. Wertheimer SS. 74, 111, 114. Dass Adam von der Erde bis zum Himmel reichte, kommt auch bei den Muhammedanern vor. Vgl. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* S. 65.

es (seit der Zeit, wo Gott den Menschen auf der Erde erschaffen hat) von einem Ende des Himmels bis zum anderen."[58]

Ein Zusammenhang in dieser Ausführung ist nur dann gegeben, wenn wir annehmen, dass der Hinweis auf Deut. 4, 32, eine Polemik ist gegen die Anschauung aus der die Vorstellung von Adams Erfüllung des Kosmos erwachsen ist. Das ist die Ansicht: Adam = Urmaterie.

Aus dieser Anschauung erst verstehen wir folgende merkwürdige agadische Ausführung: " 'Gott der Herr redet und er ruft die Erde von Sonnenaufgang bis zu ihrem Untergang' (Ps. 50.1) . . . Man könnte meinen, dass Himmel und Erde jedes für sich geschaffen wurden,—dem ist nicht so. Sie wurden beide zugleich erschaffen wie es heisst (Jes. 48.13): 'Hat doch meine Hand die Erde gegründet und meine Rechte den Himmel ausgespannt, ich rufe ihnen zu, zugleich stehen sie da.'[59] Daher, 'von Sonnenaufgang bis zu ihrem Untergang.' Der Mensch wenn er ein Gebilde bildet, beginnt er die Bildung beim Kopfe und vollendet sie bei den Füssen, oder er beginnt die Bildung bei den Füssen und vollendet sie beim Haupte. Nicht so Gott. Als er den Menschen gebildet, bildete er ihn mit einem Mal, wie es heisst (Jer. 10.16): 'er bildet das Gesamte,' daher, 'von Sonnenaufgang bis zu ihrem Untergang.' Und woher erschuf er ihn? Aus Zion, wie es heisst: 'von Zion der Krönung der Schönheit,' die Krönung der Schönheit der Welt. Was bedeutet הופיע? Er leuchtete. הופיע bedeutet nichts als Leuchten, wie es heisst (Job 37.15). Und woher weiss ich, dass von der Welt die Rede ist? Es heisst hier Krönung מכלל und es heisst (Gen. 2.1): 'Es wurden gekrönt (ויכלו) die Himmel und die Erde.' Ebenso wenn Gott die Welt zerstören wird, wird er den Anfang bei Zion machen, wie es heisst (Jer. 9.10): 'Und ich will Jerusalem zu einem Steinhaufen machen' und erst nachher: 'zur Einöde soll die ganze Erde werden' (Jer.

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[58] Abot R. Natan II Rez. VIII 11b. Vgl. oben Amn. 57. Vgl. *Simonsen-festschrift* SS. 117, 127. Nachträglich bemerkte ich, dass schon Ginzberg, *Hazofeh* IV S. 36 diese Stelle in Abot R. Natan in demselben Sinne erklärt.

[59] Die Deutung dieses Jesaiaverses im Sinne von Schöpfung in einem Akte auch Ḥag. 12a; Tamid 32a; P. Ḥag. II 77c; Gen. r. I 15; Lev. r. XXXVI 1; Tan. ed. Buber בראשית §19; Mid. Sam. V 1; S. a. Pirke R. Eli'ezer XVII-Anf. Vgl. Ibn Esra zu Gen. 1.1.

4.27). Und es heisst (Micha 4.7): 'Die Erde wird wegen ihrer Bewohner zur Wüste werden.' Ebenso wenn Gott die Welt erneuern wird, beginnt er bei Zion, wie es heisst (Jes. 2.2): 'Der Berg mit dem Tempel Gottes wird fest gegründet stehen als der erste der Berge'."[60]

Die Gegenüberstellung von Menschenwerk und Gotteswerk: "Der Mensch bildet allmählich, Gott auf einmal," kommt auch in anderen Quellen vor,[61] und zwar in bezug auf die Bildung des Embryo, aber welcher Zusammenhang besteht zwischen diesem Gedanken und dem Satze "von Sonnenaufgang bis Sonnenuntergang?" Ferner: Was hat die Bildung des Embryos mit der Schöpfung der Welt zu tun?[62]

In der Tat fehlt dieser Zusammenhang in den anderen Quellen. Dann folgt unmittelbar auf diese Ausführung betreffend die Bildung des Embryos die Frage "woher schuf er ihn?" was doch wohl auf die Schöpfung des Menschen bezogen werden muss. Die Ausführung beginnt also mit der Schöpfung der Welt, geht auf die Schöpfung des Menschen über und schliesst wieder mit der Neuschöpfung der Welt.[63] Dies lässt sich nur aus der Anschauung erklären, Adam = erstes Schöpfungswerk und Urstoff. Der Agadist überträgt die in der Agada geläufige Ausführung in bezug auf die Bildung des Embryos, auf die Schöpfung Adams, der von Osten bis Westen hingestreckt lag. Daher: Gott rief die Erde (= Kosmos = Adam) von Sonnenaufgang bis zu ihrem Untergang. Und woher? Von Zion. Ebenso hat unser Agadist den sonst in der Agada geläufigen Gedanken, dass Adam, der von Zion geschaffen wurde, nach Zion zurückkehren musste,[64] und allgemein, dass der Mensch dorthin zurückkehren muss, wo er geschaffen wurde,[65] auf die Welt übertragen.[66] Daher wird auch die Erneuerung des Menschengeschlechtes—die Auferstehung—in Zion stattfinden und zwar auf dem Ölberge.[67] Jetzt verstehen wir auch die Behauptung

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[60] Mid. Ps. L 1.

[61] Mekilta שירתא Ende; Mekilta ed. Hoffmann S. 67; Mid. Sam. V; Mid. Ps. XVIII 26.

[62] In der Tat fehlt diese Zusammenstellung in den anderen Quellen. Dass unser Agadist einen Vergleich zwischen Weltschöpfung und Embryo ziehen wollte, ist aus dem Grunde unannehmbar, weil die gebräuchlichen Anführungen von Vergleichen (וכן אתה אומר, כיוצא בו usw.) fehlen, wie in der Tat in anderen Quellen (Vgl. Aptowitzer, *Monatsschrift* 1928 S. 365) dieser Vergleich durchgeführt wird, aber deutlich in der Form eines Vergleiches, hier aber erscheint die Ausführung wie in einem Gusse.

[63] Der Text ist gesichert durch Yalkuṭ ha-Makiri, z. St. S. 272 und Jes. S. 20.

[64] Vgl. Aptowitzer *REJ* 1924 S. 157.

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[65] Vgl. Aptowitzer das. S. 151 ff.—Vgl. noch: "Und ich sprach: 'Du bist Erde und in dieselbe Erde wirst du gehen von der ich dich genommen und nicht vernichte ich dich, sondern ich sende dich, von wo ich dich genommen. Also dann kann ich dich wieder nehmen bei meinem zweiten Kommen.'" (Slav. Henoch längere Rez. XXIII Anf. ed. Bonwetsch S. 30).

"Dieser Kreislauf gilt auch in bezug auf die Zeit. So heisst es in der Agada: Gott macht voll die Tage der Gerechten bis auf den Monat, bis auf den Tag." R. H. 11a; Sota 13b; Ḳidd. 38a; Vgl. Slav. Henoch längere Rez. LXVIII, 4 (ed. Bonwetsch S. 57): "Wie ein jeder Mensch hat die gleiche Natur dieses gegenwärtigen Lebens, so auch die Empfängnis und die Geburt und den Hinweggang aus diesem Leben. Zu der Stunde, in welcher er empfangen wird, in der er auch geboren wird, in derselben geht er auch heim."—Mose wurde am siebenten Adar geboren und starb am selben Tage dieses Monats. Sifre Deut. 2, Tosef. Soṭa XI 7, 8, Babli das. 13b, Kidd. 38a, Seder 'Olam r. IX. Henoch wurde am 6. Siwan geboren und starb am 6. Siwan (Slav. Henoch das.).

In den christlichen Quellen, *Schatzhöhle* S. 9, *Christl. Adambuch* ed. Dillmann S. 82, wird dasselbe von Adam gesagt, er sei an einem Freitag gestorben ebenso wie er an einem Freitag erschaffen wurde. Diese Ansicht zitiert auch Ibn Esra zu Gen. 3.8.

[66] Vgl. noch A-B des R. Akiba Bet ha-Midr. III 24 (ed. Wertheimer S. 22) ". . . Und in ihr (der vierten Weltrichtung) wird Gott nach Jerusalem hinabsteigen, um seine Welt zu erneuern," das. S. 31 (ed. Wertheimer S. 31): "Zur Zeit der Auferstehung (und der Erneuerung der Welt) wird Gott heruntersteigen von den oberen Himmeln und sich auf seinen Thron in Jerusalem setzen.

[67] Die Gerechten, die im Exil gestorben sind, werden dereinst durch unterirdische Höhlen nach Palästina kommen und dort beim Oelberge herauskommen. Targum Cant. 8.5. Vgl. Apok. Serubabel Bet ha-Midr. II 57 (ed. Levi *REJ* LXVII S. 139). Uebereinstimmend mit Targ. Cant. ist Bet ha-Midr. V. 48, wo zum Schluss auf Zach. 14.4 verwiesen wird. Dadurch gewinnen wir die erste Quelle zu dieser Vorstellung. Nämlich Targum zu dieser Zachariastelle: "In jener Zeit wird Gott eine grosse Posaune in seine Hand nehmen und wird zehnmal in die Posaune stossen um die Toten lebendig zu machen, er wird erscheinen in seiner Majestät auf dem Oelberge im Osten Jerusalems und der Oelberg wird sich spalten."

Die Vorstellung, dass die Auferstehung in Jerusalem stattfinden wird, ist der Ausgangspunkt des Glaubens, dass das jüngste Gericht in Jerusalem stattfinden wird, wohin alle Seelen werden versammelt werden. Vgl. Kusari II 23, IV 10. Ausführlich darüber ein anderes Mal.

Im Sinne dieses Kreislaufes ist es, dass Adam, der erste bei der Schöpfung unseres Agadisten, dass Adam auf einmal geschaffen worden, da Adam = Welt ist, deren Schöpfung auf einmal er früher aus den Bibelversen nachgewiesen hat. Daher beginnt er mit der Schöpfung der Welt, geht über zur Schöpfung Adams, um anzudeuten, dass Schöpfung Adams = Schöpfung der Welt. Jetzt ist die Frage: Woher hat er ihn, Adam = Kosmos, erschaffen? Antwort: Von Zion, da nach der Agada sowohl Adam, wie auch die Welt, von Zion aus geschaffen wurde.[68]

Wie gehört aber in diesen Zusammenhang die Frage: "Was bedeutet הופיע?" und die Antwort: "Er erleuchtete"?—Weil der Agadist auf dem Standpunkte steht: Licht = Urstoff. Licht ist aber auch = Zion,[69] also die Welt (= Adam) ist in Zion und aus Zion (= Licht) erschaffen. Es ergibt sich also aus unserer Agada: Licht ist Urstoff, Adam ist Licht, Adam ist Kosmos, dessen Schöpfung in einem einzigen Akte erfolgte.

Diese Anschauungen finden wir in folgender Stelle der kürzeren Rezension des slav. Henoch vereinigt: "Und es ging hervor der überaus sehr grosse Adoël, und ich sah ihn, und siehe er im Leib habend einen grossen Aeon. Und ich sprach zu ihm: Löse dich auf, Adoël, und es werde ein Sichtbares geboren aus dir. Und er löste sich auf und es ging aus ihm hervor ein grosser Aeon und so tragend alle Kreaturen, die ich machen wollte, und ich sah, 'dass es gut'."[70]

Demgegenüber heisst es in der betreffenden Stelle der längeren Rezension: "Und es kam herab der überaus sehr grosse Adoël. Und ich schaute ihn, und siehe im Leib jener habend grosses Licht . . . Und als irgendwie das Licht sich bewegte, ging aus dem Licht hervor ein grosser Aeon, offenbarend die ganze Kreatur, die ich beschlossen hatte zu schaffen."[71]

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auch der erste bei der Neuschöpfung sein wird. Bet ha-Midrash III 73. Dasselbe behaupten die Perser von ihrem Urmenschen Gayomard. Vgl. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 219.

[68] Vgl. Aptowitzer *REJ* 1924 152 f.

[69] Vgl. Aptowitzer, *Monatsschrift* 1928 S. 364 ff.

[70] XXXV 1 ed. Bonwetsch *TU* III-14 S. 79. Vgl. Aptowitzer a. a. O. S. 369 f.

[71] Ed. Bonwetsch S. 23 f. Slav. Henoch LXV Anf. (S. 102) heisst es folgendermassen: "Höret meine Kinder: Bevor, dass alle Kreatur war, hat der Herr gesetzt den Aeon der Kreatur und hernach machte er alle seine Kreatur,

Also Licht = erstes Schöpfungswerk, "tragend alle Kreatur" oder "offenbarend die ganze Kreatur." Nimmt man noch dazu, dass bei den Gnostikern Aeon zuweilen = Anthropos ist,[72] so haben wir die ganze Kette unserer Agada: Licht[73] = Adam = Kosmos,[74] ein einziger Schöpfungsakt.

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die sichtbare und die unsichtbare. Und nach dem allen schuf er den Menschen nach seinem Bild."

Die Erklärung dieser Stelle ergibt sich aus XLIV, 1 SS. 41, 91: "Der Herr hat mit seinen eigenen Händen den Menschen geschaffen zur Ähnlichkeit seines Angesichts, den kleinen und den grossen." Der Urmensch ist Makrokosmos, der zweite Adam ist eine Einzelkreatur wie alle anderen.

[72] Vgl. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* 167, 209 Amn. 1. Vgl. noch Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte* S. 236 mit 242.

[73] Ein Gegenstück zum Licht ist die Finsternis: Und ich sprach, tue dich auf Archas und es werde sichtbar ein aus dir Geborenes. Und er löste sich auf. Es ging hervor eine dunkler, überaus grosser Aeon tragend die Schöpfung aller Unteren. Und ich sah, dass gut und ich sprach zu ihm: Gehe du herab abwärts und befestige dich und werde das Fundament des Unteren. (Slav. Henoch längere Rez. XXVI, 2, 3 ed. Bonwetsch S. 24).

[74] Licht = Urstoff = Adam bei Irenäus *Haer* I 30, 1: "Wieder andere aber bringen Abenteuerliches vor und sagen, in der Kraft des Bythus wohne ein erstes, seliges, unvergängliches und grenzenloses Licht, dieses aber sei der Vater aller Dinge und werde der erste Mensch genannt.

Im System der Naassener erscheint der Urmensch als das Grundwesen aller Dinge. Er ist mannweiblich, Vater und Mutter zugleich, er ist seinem Wesen nach dreifach geteilt: geistig, psychisch und irdisch" (Bousset 167).

Im manichäischen System erfahren wir über den Ursprung des Urmenschen, dass als Gott, der König der Paradiese, sich durch die Veranstaltung der Finsternis bedroht fühlte, er den Urmenschen schuf, um sich gegen die Finsternis zu schützen . . . In der Darstellung des Systems bei Theodor bar Kuni heisst es, dass der Vater der Grösse, zunächst die Mutter des Lebens schuf, die Mutter des Lebens den Urmenschen und der Urmensch seine fünf Söhne. Auch in den *Acta Archelai* c. 7 wird ebenfalls berichtet, dass der gute Vater aus sich eine Macht mit dem Namen der Mutter des Lebens emaniert habe und dass diese den Urmenschen d. h. die fünf Elemente ins Leben gerufen habe . . . Von dem Urmenschen wird weiter erzählt, dass er sich zum Kampf der Materie mit seinen fünf Elementen gewappnet habe. Nach dem Fihrist sind diese fünf Elemente: der leise Lufthauch, das brennende Licht, das Wasser, der blasende Wind, das Feuer (Bousset S. 177 f.). Das erste, was er anlegte, war der leise Lufthauch. Er hüllte dann den erhabenen, leisen Lufthauch mit dem brennenden Licht wie mit einem Mantel ein, zog über das Licht, das von Atomen erfüllte Wasser und bedeckte sich mit dem blasenden Winde. Hierauf nahm er das Feuer als Schild und als Lanze in seine Hand (Bousset S. 221 f.).

Die ersten drei Glieder dieser Kette enthält nun auch unsere muhammedanische Tradition; da sie aber nicht von einer sukzes-

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Urmensch = Kosmos, auch bei den Persern: Die Vorstellung von Gayomard geht endlich ganz in die vom kosmischen Urmenschen über, wenn es *Minokhired* 27, 18 heisst, dass aus dem Leib des getöteten Urmenschen die Metalle werden. Ebenso wird *Dad. Din.* 64.7 gesagt: "Der Grund wo Gayomard das Leben aufgab, ist Gold, und aus dem übrigen Lande, wo die Auflösung seiner Glieder erfolgte, wuchern die verschiedenen Arten der Metalle auf." Zâd-Sparam 10,12 nennt acht Arten von Metallen, die aus den Gliedern Gayomards entstanden seien, darunter die sieben Metalle, die man mit den sieben Planeten in Zusammenhang bringt. Ganz deutlich schaut hier überall die Auffassung von Gayomard als den Makrokosmos, die Personifikation des Weltalls hindurch (Bousset 206 f.).

Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass auch in der Welt der persischen Spekulation der Urmensch eine ganz besondere Rolle spielt, und auch hier ist er sicher ursprünglich eine kosmologische Potenz gewesen. Sein Untergang wird als die unerlässliche Vorbedingung alles Weltwerdens aufgefasst, und wenn er auch nicht direkt als Makrokosmos gilt, aus dem alle anderen Wesen hervorgehen, so liegt diese Auffassung des Urmenschen als des Makrokosmos doch noch deutlich in der Phantasie vor, dass von dem sterbenden Gayomard die verschiedenen Arten der Metalle sowie das erste Menschenpaar abstammen (Bousset 208). Über den vorweltlichen Menschen vgl. noch Bousset S. 163.

Der Urmensch als Makrokosmos im Islam s. Horten, *Philosophie des Islam* S. 89:

"In dem Logos der Manifestationssysteme wird seine Lichtnatur und sein Hervorleuchten aus Gott betont, zugleich seine Wesensgleichheit mit Gott, der als der Verborgene gedacht ist. Er ist zugleich oft Träger und Ursubstanz aller Geschöpfe und der Idealmensch der 'grosse Mensch' Makrokosmos."

Die kosmologische Deutung des Urmenschen, deutlich im indischen Purushamythus, in der eddischen Ymirsage und schon im babylonischen Schöpfungsbericht (Vgl. oben Anmm. 22, 51).

Die kosmologische Auffassung des Urmenschen, befreit von allem phantastischen Beiwerk, hat sicherlich ihren Ursprung in der alten Anschauung, dass der Urstoff ein lebendiges, denkendes Wesen sein muss. Vgl. besonders Anaximander und Diogenes aus Apollonia (bei Zeller I 1^3 SS. 218, 259), die ihrerseits an den altgriechischen Hylozoismus anknüpfen. Also: Der Urstoff ist ein lebendiges, denkendes Wesen. Dem primitiven Menschen aber ist als lebendiges, denkendes Wesen er selbst am geläufigsten, daher Urstoff = Anthropos; da aber der Urstoff unendlich ist, so muss auch der Urmensch unendlich sein, daher lag Adam, nach der Agada, von einem Ende der Welt bis zum anderen, von der Erde bis zum Himmel.

Adam = Makrokosmos.

Aus der Anschauung von der Lebendigkeit und Vernunftbegabtheit des Urstoffes entwickelt sich die weitverbreitete Vorstellung von der Lebendigkeit siven Schöpfung in sechs Tagen spricht, die der Islam sonst kennt,[75] so darf man mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit das vierte Glied dieser Kette voraussetzen: Schöpfung in einem einzigen Akte.

In unserer muhammedanischen Tradition ist also die Reihenfolge der Schöpfung wie folgt: Vernunft, Licht, Kosmos.

Genau so bei Philo:[76]

"Jenes unsichtbare und gedachte Licht aber ist ein Abbild der göttlichen Vernunft,[77] die seine Entstehung erklärt; es ist ein überhimmlisches Gestirn, die Quelle der sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Gestirne, die man treffend Allglanz nennen könnte, aus dem Sonne und Mond und die übrigen Planeten und Fixsterne je nach ihrer Kraft die angemessenen Lichtquellen schöpfen."

Wir wollen nun noch manche Einzelheiten unserer muhammedanischen Tradition besprechen soweit sie ihre Parallele im jüdischen Schrifttum haben.

1. "Die Tradition berichtet, dass Gott der Hocherhabene einen Baum geschaffen, der viertausend Zweige hat und ihm den Namen gegeben Baum der Erkenntnis."

Wenn, wie eingangs bemerkt, der Baum der Erkenntnis Symbol der Weisheit ist, so bedeuten seine Zweige die verschiedenen Zweige und Gebiete der Weisheit. In der Agada heisst es: "Fünfzig Pforten der Vernunft sind in der Welt geschaffen worden."[78] Und

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und der Vernunftbegabtheit des Kosmos, die besonders eine Grundanschauung der Agada bildet. Vgl. darüber Aptowitzer, Anteilnahme der physischen Welt an den Schicksalen des Menschen *MGWJ* 1920–21, Rewarding and Punishing of Animals and Inanimate Objects, *Hebrew Union College Annual* III.

[75] Vgl. Kuran 7.52; 10.3; 11.9; 32.3; 48.8 f; 50.37; 57.4; vgl. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed* S. 67; H. P. Smith, *The Bible and Islam* S. 108; Goldziher, Die Sabbathinstitution im Islam *Kaufmann-Gedenkschrift* S. 86.

[76] *De opificio mundi* §8 (ed. L. Cohn I S. 9§31. Deutsch I S. 37).

[77] Ausgehend von Prov. 6.23: ". . . denn eine Leuchte ist das Gebot und die Torah ein Licht" ist die Vorstellung geläufig: Torah (=Weisheit, vgl. oben Amn. 39)=Licht. Vgl. Syr. Baruch 59. 2 (Kautsch II 435). Sifre Num. §41; Megilla 16b; Baba Batra 4a; Deut. r. VII 3; Koh. r. XII 7; A-B des R. Akiba ed. Wertheimer SS. 46, 78, 83; Bet ha-Midr. II 24; VI 72; Ber. rabbati Ms. Prag zu Gen. I 4, 5.

Über diese Vorstellung in christlichen Quellen, vgl. G. P. Wetter, Ich bin das Licht der Welt, in *Beiträge zur Religionswissenschaft* I 2 S. 188 f. Vgl. noch Aptowitzer, *Monatsschrift* 1928 S. 366.

[78] Nedarim 38a.

eine andere jüngere Agada spricht von fünftausend Pforten der Weisheit, achttausend Pforten der Vernunft und elftausend Pforten der Erkenntnis.[79]

2. Das Licht Muhammeds.[80]

Diese Bezeichnung für Muhammed erklärt sich daraus, dass Muhammed der Messias des Islam, der Messias aber ein Licht ist. Diese Vorstellung ist in der Agada geläufig: Ein Licht ist bei Ihm (bei Gott), das ist der König Messias.[81] So auch in anderen zahlreichen Aussprüchen der Agada.[82]

3. Das Licht Muhammeds in Gestalt eines Pfaues.

Muhammed ist Messias, der Messias aber ist die Allseele (*anima generalis*). In der Agada kommt diese Vorstellung nicht vor, es wird aber in einer alten christlichen Quelle[83] diese Behauptung ausdrücklich als jüdische Lehre bezeichnet. In der Tat sind Spuren dieser Lehre in manchen pseudoepigraphischen Schriften zu finden.[84] Nun aber ist es eine weitverbreitete, auch Juden und Muhammedanern geläufige Vorstellung von der Seele, sie in Gestalt eines Vogels zu denken.[85] Es ergibt sich übrigens auch aus einer anderen Spekulation,[86] dass der Messias beflügelt ist. Daher das Licht Muhammeds in Gestalt eines Pfaues.[87]

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[79] A-B des R. Akiba in Bet ha-Midrash III S. 16. ed. Wertheimer S. 6— Nach der Lesart des Ms. Leipzig hat der Baum der Erkenntnis vier Zweige. So spricht Simon Magus vom Weltenbaum, der vier Äste hat. Schulz, *Dokumente der Gnosis* 130.

[80] Zum Licht Muhammeds vgl. Flügel *ZDMG* XX S. 29 f; Horten, *Philosophie des Islam* SS. 83, 115, 163, 203 f.

[81] Gen. r. I, 6; Thr. r. I, 16 (ed. Buber 45b).

[82] Vgl. Slav. Henoch längere Rez. XLVI 3 (ed. Bonwetsch S. 42) "Und wenn der Herr dass grosse Licht senden wird;" Ginzberg *Die Haggada b. d. Kirchenvätern* S. 33 f. Böklen, *Adam und Qain* S. 31 f. Wetter, *Beiträge zur Religionswissenschaft* I 2 S. 174 ff. (Stockholm, Leipzig 1913-14), Aptowitzer, *Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit* S. 237, Amn. 13 und ausführlich bei Murmelstein, Adam, in *WZKM* XXXV S. 256 f.

[83] *Marius Victorinus Afrus* Migne lat. VIII, 1155: adiungunt Judaismi observationem . . . Christum Adam esse et esse animam generalem. Murmelstein das. S. 265.

[84] *Die Oden Salomos* 17, 11–14. Der Erlöser spricht: und ich säte meine Früchte in die Herzen und verwandelte sie in mich und sie empfingen meinen Segen und lebten; und sie versammelten sich zu mir and wurden gerettet, weil sie mir die Glieder waren, und ich ihr Haupt. Vgl. Gunkel *ZNW* XI 291 ff; Reitzenstein, *Erlösungsmysterium* S. 84, Murmelstein a. a. O S. 368. Vgl. noch vielleicht Henoch 49. 3.

4. Aus dem Schweisse des Pfaues wurden die Engel geschaffen.

Eine Parallele liegt in folgender Agada vor: Woher werden die Engel geschaffen? Aus dem Feuerstrom. Was ist der Feuerstrom?

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[85] Vgl. Aptowitzer, Die Seele als Vogel, *MGWJ* 1925 SS. 150–168. Vgl. noch die ägyptisch-gnostische Spekulation bei Schulz, *Dokumente der Gnosis* SS. 74, 78, 82.

[86] Das. S. 166.

[87] "Derselbe Logosmythos nimmt auch die Form an: das erste aus Gott entstehende Wesen ist der Pfau, der mit der weissen Perle wesensverwandt ist. Er ist der Weltenherrscher, der allmächtig und allwissend ist und am jüngsten Tage der Weltenrichter sein wird. Der heilige Hahn übernimmt, wie bei den Mandäern die Taube, die Motive des Pfaus, als farbenprächtiger Vogel ist er Symbol des Sonnenfluges und der Sonne." Horten, *Philosophie des Islam* S. 126. Vgl. auch das. S. 342 Anm. 116: "Die grossen Mystiker tragen den Namen, 'Pfau' (tâ 'ûs, aus dem Griechischen), d. h. Sonnenvogel, Sonnengeist, Logos." Vgl. noch Horten, das. SS. 130 ff. 139 f, 145, 153, 157–160, 347 f.

Zur kosmischen Bedeutung des Pfaues vgl. Schulz, *Dokumente der Gnosis* SS. 140, 148: "Wie das Ei eines schön gefärbten Vogels mit buntem Gefieder, das eines Pfaues oder eines anderen, der vielleicht noch zierlicher und bunter gefärbt ist, nur eines ist, aber in sich viele Vorbilder für vielgestaltige und buntgefärbte und mannigfache Bildungen enthält, so enthält das Samenkorn, das nicht ist, und von dem nicht vorhandenen Gott herabgeworfen wurde, die zugleich vielgestaltige und mannigfach geartete Samenfülle der Weltordnung," und das. S. 148: "Aber der Pfau ist zu dieser Vergleichung nicht zufällig gewählt worden. Man unterschied 365 Farben in seinem Gefieder, er war also ein kosmologischer Vogel."

"Darauf schuf Gott den Spiegel der Scham and stellte ihn demselben gegenüber. Als nun der Pfau hineinschaute, da sah er die Schönheit seiner Form und Zierlichkeit seiner Gestalt und schämte sich vor Gott in gebührender Scham und fiel fünf Mal nieder." Soweit unsere Tradition. In ähnlicher Form wird in den gnostischen Systemen das Versinken des Urmenschen in die Materie ausgedrückt. Vgl. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 182 f, Schulz, *Dokumente der Gnosis* SS. 64, 70, 106, 124. Auch das Motiv der Scham spielt in diesen Systemen eine Rolle. Schulz, das. S. 170.

Während aber bei den Gnostikern mit dem Versinken des Urmenschen in die Materie die Weltentstehung beginnt, wird in unserer Tradition das Schauen in den Spiegel der Scham dazu verwendet, um davon das fünfmalige Niederknien abzuleiten: "Dieses Niederfallen wurde daher zum feststehenden Gebote für uns und deshalb hat auch Gott der hocherhabene, Mohammed und seiner Gemeinde fünf Gebete anbefohlen."

Er strömt unaufhörlich wie der Jordan. Woher kommt er? Aus dem *Schweisse der Ḥajot*, den sie hervorbringen unter der Last des himmlischen Thrones.[88]

5. Der obere und der untere Thron.

Der obere Thron ist um vieles grösser als der untere Thron und befindet sich oberhalb des siebenten Himmels. Der untere Thron befindet sich unterhalb des siebenten Himmels.[89]

In der Agada heisst es: Im siebenten Himmel Araboth befinden sich Ophanim, Seraphim, die heiligen *Ḥajot*, die Dienstengel und der Thron der Herrlichkeit, auf dem Gott ruht.[90] Ferner werden die zwei Throne, Daniel 7.9 erklärt: Der eine dient als Thron, der andere als Schemel.[91]

6. Die himmlische und die irdische Kaaba.

In bezug auf die himmlische Kaaba hat die muhammedanische Tradition noch folgendes: "Das himmlische Heiligtum (die himmlische Kaaba), welches zu den Andachtsübungen der Engel bestimmt ist. Es steht nach dem Glauben der Muhammedaner gerade über der irdischen Kaaba, welche sein Abbild ist. Die Sage berichtet nämlich, dass Adam nach seiner Vertreibung aus dem Paradiese Gott gebeten habe, ein dem himmlischen Heiligtum ähnliches auf Erden erbauen zu dürfen und diese Bitte dadurch erfüllt worden sei, dass ein Bild desselben in Vorhängen von Licht vom Himmel herabgekommen und in Mekka gerade unter demselben sich niedergelassen. Gegen dasselbe gewandt habe nun Adam auf Gottes Befehl seine Andacht verrichtet. Nach seinem Tode habe Set ein Gotteshaus in einer demselben ganz ähnlichen Form aus Stein und Lehm erbaut; dies sei dann in der Sintflut zerstört worden und erst von Abraham und Ismael nach ebendemselben Bilde und in ebenderselben Form auf Grund einer unmittelbaren göttlichen Offenbarung wieder erbaut worden."[92]

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[88] Gen. r. LXXVIII 1. Dass der Feuerstrom aus dem Schweisse der Ḥajot entsteht, auch Ḥag. 13b. Schöpfung aus dem Schweisse auch bei den Persern: "Vor dem Kommen (Ahrimans) zu Gayomard, brachte Ahura Schweiss (Khei) über Gayomard hervor so lange, wie man ein Gebet von einer Stanze zu sprechen pflegt. Und es schuf Ahura diesen Schweiss in der Gestalt eines jungen Mannes von fünfzehn Jahren, glänzend und hoch." Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 203 f.

[89] Fleischer, angeführt bei Wolf, *Muh. Eschatologie* S. 3 Amn. 3.

[90] Ḥag. 12b.

[91] Sanh. 38b.

Die in dieser Tradition wirksamen Vorstellungen sind jüdischen Ursprunges.

a. In der Agada ist sehr viel vom himmlischen Heiligtum die Rede, das genau dem irdischen entspricht.[93]

"R. Nathan sagt: Lieb ist die heilige Lade wie der obere Thron der Herrlichkeit, wie es heisst (Ex. 15.17): Die Stätte die du dir bereitet hast, Gott, um daselbst zu wohnen, das Heiligtum, o Herr, das deine Hände bereitet haben. Die Stätte des oberen Heiligtums entspricht der Stätte des unteren Heiligtums, und die heilige Lade entspricht dem oberen Thron der Herrlichkeit, wie es heisst (Jer. 17.12): O Thron der Herrlichkeit, hocherhaben von Anfang an, Stätte unseres (himmlischen) Heiligtums. Und wo ist die Stätte unseres (himmlischen) Heiligtums? Da heisst es: Die Stätte die du dir bereitet hast, Gott, um daselbst zu wohnen, das Heiligtum, o Herr, das deine Hände bereitet מָכוֹן = מְכֻוָן."[94]

b. In der himmlischen Kaaba beten die Engel.[95]—

Dass die Engel beten, Gott anbeten, ihn preisen und Hymnen an ihn singen ist eine geläufige Vorstellung.

"Im Todesjahre des Königs Usia, sah ich den Herrn auf einem hohen und erhabenen Throne sitzen, seine Säume füllten den Tempel, Seraphe standen vor ihm, jeder mit sechs Flügeln. Mit zweien bedeckte er sein Antlitz, mit zweien bedeckte er seine Füsse und mit zweien flog er. Und wiederholt riefen sie einander zu: Heilig, heilig, heilig ist Gott der Heerscharen; alle Lande erfüllt seine Herrlichkeit. Da erzitterten die Grundlagen der

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[92] Vgl. Wolf das. S. 5 Anm. 8. Die Kaaba befindet sich in der Mitte der Welt und ist ein genaues Abbild der oberen präexistenten Kaaba. (*Philologus* LXVIII S. 118 ff).

[93] Das himmlische Heiligtum auch in den Apokryphen und in der altchristlichen Literatur.

[94] Tan. ויקהל §7. Vgl. besonders P. Ber. IV 5 8c. Ausführlich über das Thema bei Aptowitzer, Das obere Heiligtum in *Chajes-Gedenkschrift* (hebr.).

[95] Um die himmlische Kaaba machen die Engel den heiligen Umlauf (tawâf) (Horten, *Philosophie des Islam* S. 102).

Schwellen von ihrem lauten Rufen; das Haus aber füllte sich immer mehr mit Rauch" (Jes. 61 ff).[96]

c. "Unter dem Jubel der Morgensterne allzumal als alle Engel jauchzten" (Job. 38.7).[97]

d. "Und alle Heerscharen des Himmels herzugetreten standen auf zehn Stufen, ihrem Range nach, und beteten an den Herrn."[98]

e. "Und die Engel, welche das Paradies bewahren, überaus leuchtende, mit nie aufhörender Stimme und schönem Gesang dienen sie dem Herrn."[99]

f. "Der Engel der mit Jakob gerungen (Gen. 32.27) sagt zu ihm: 'entlasse mich, da meine Zeit gekommen einen Hymnus an Gott anzustimmen . . . drei Gruppen von Engeln stimmen jeden Tag einen Gesang an.' "[100] Auch noch in zahlreichen anderen Agadoth.[101]

Bei Philo sind die Engel die Priester des höchsten Heiligtums; freilich ist dies bei Philo der Kosmos.[102]

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[96] In der Vision Jesaias ist das himmlische Heiligtum gemeint, wie schon Jonathan z. St. es auffasst und auch in der Agada so verstanden wird. Vgl. den oben Amn. 94 angeführten Aufsatz Kap. II.

[97] Vgl. zu diesem Jobverse besonders Sifre Deut. §307: Die Engel stimmen ihre Hymnen nicht an bevor Israel das Einheitsbekenntnis gesprochen. Zuerst die Sterne des Himmels = Israel, dann die Engel.

[98] Sl. Henoch längere Rez. XX 3 (ed. Bonwetsch S. 19).

[99] Sl. Henoch VIII 8 (S. 8). Vgl. noch die kürzere Rez. S. 65. Vom Gesang der Engel ist im slav. Henoch noch mehrmals die Rede. Vgl. XVII Anf. (SS. 15, 71); XVIII Anf. (SS. 16, 72); XIX, 3, 6 (18, 74); XX, 3 f (SS. 18, 74); XXI, 1, 2 (S. 75); XXII, 2 (S. 20); XXII, 7 (S. 21); XXIII Anf. (S. 22); XXXI, 2 (S. 29); XLII, 4 (S. 39). S. a. Einleitung S. 3.

[100] Ḥullin 91b. Dasselbe Gen. r. LXXVIII 1, Jon. zu Gen. 32, 26 f, Mid. Abkir in Yal. Gen. §132 (Buber Likḳuṭim S. 7). In diesen Quellen ist der mit Jakob ringende Engel Michael. Im Mid. Abkir heisst es: Während Jakob den Michael festhielt, kamen Gruppen von Engeln und sprachen: Michael, die Zeit des Gesanges ist gekommen und wenn du den Gesang nicht anstimmt, kommt dieser nicht zustande. Michael der himmlische Chormeister, so ist auch im äthiopischen Baruch (übs. v. König, *Studien und Kritiken* 1877 S. 35) "gesangskundig," ein Epitheton Michaels.

[101] Henoch I 39.12–13; 40.3–5; 42.2; 61.10–11; Buch d. Jubiläen Kap. 2 Anf; Sifre a. a. O. Ḥag. 12b, 13b, 14b; Bet ha-Midr. I 59, II 39, 43; III 62, 161 ff. V, 165 f, 182, 184, 185. Bate Midrashot II 2, 3 ff. Gesang der Engel: Asc. Jes. 7.15–19, 30, 36; 8.4, 17; 9.4–5, 28–33, 42. Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokr.* 299 ff. Vgl. den oben Amn 94 zitierten Aufsatz Kap. V.

[102] *De spec. leg.* I 66: Als das höchste und wahrhafte Heiligtum der Gottheit ist das ganze Weltall zu betrachten, das zum Tempelraum den heiligsten Be-

Ein Bild des himmlischen Heiligtums aus Licht steigt zur Erde nieder. In jüdischen Quellen steigt das himmlische Heiligtum zur Erde herab in eschatologischer Zeit.[103]

Adam verrichtet seine Andacht mit der Ḳibla gegen Mekka.—In der Agada bringt Adam an der Stätte des späteren Heiligtums ein Opfer dar.[104] Auf demselben Altar opferten Abel und Kain,[105] in der Sintflut wurde es zerstört und Noa errichtete es von neuem.[106] Auf derselben Stätte sollte dann die Opferung Isaaks stattfinden[107] und auf derselben Stelle—dem Moriahberge, wurde dann das Heiligtum errichtet.[108]

Das irdische Heiligtum nach dem geoffenbarten Muster des himmlischen Heiligtums.—In der Agada gilt dasselbe sowohl vom ersten Heiligtum in der Wüste wie vom Salomonischen Tempel. Was das Heiligtum in der Wüste betrifft, so heisst es schon in der Bibel: Genau nach dem Modell der Wohnung und aller ihrer Geräte, das ich dir zeige, sollt ihr es errichten (Ex. 25.9). Und sieh' zu, dass du sie genau nach dem Modell anfertigst, das dir auf dem Berge gezeigt wurde (Ex. 25.40). Aber hier ist wahrscheinlich von einer momentanen Schöpfung ad hoc die Rede; die Agada fasst aber diese Bibelstellen in dem Sinne, dass Gott Mose das himmlische Heiligtum als Muster für das irdische gezeigt.

"Als Gott dem Mose gesagt hat: errichte mir eine Wohnung, da zeigte er ihm rotes, gelbes, schwarzes und weisses Feuer: Wie du es oben siehst, so mache es unten, und wenn du nach dem Muster von oben eine Wohnung unten errichtest, da verlasse ich mein Gemach oben und wohne in dem unten."[109]

Betreffend den Bau des salomonischen Tempels heisst es schon in der Bibel, dass David seinem Sohne Salomo einen ausführlichen Plan des Heiligtums übergeben, mit den Worten: "Das alles ist

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standteil der Welt, den Himmel, hat, dessen Weihgeschenke die Sterne, dessen Priester die Unterdiener der göttlichen Kräfte, die Engel sind.

[103] Midr. Zehn Gebote. Bet ha-Midr. I S. 64.

[104] Gen. r. XXXIV 9, Vgl. das. XXII 8.

[105] Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer XXXI; Pes. r. ed. Friedmann 179b. S. a. die folgende Anm.

[106] Jon. Gen. 8.20; 22.9.

[107] Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer, Pes. r. a. a. O. Jon. zu Gen. 8.20.

[108] II Chr. 3.1.

[109] Pes. ed. Buber 4b; Cant. r. III E.; Ex. r. XXXII E. ; Num. r. XII 8.

verzeichnet in einer Schrift von der Hand Gottes; er hat mich über alle Arbeiten zur Ausführung des Planes unterwiesen." (I Chron. 28.11). Dann aber heisst es in der Sapienz:[110] "Du hast befohlen einen Tempel zu erbauen auf deinem heiligen Berge und eine Opferstätte in der Stadt deiner Residenz, ein Nachbild des heiligen Zeltes, das du von Anfang her bereitet hast."

III

1. Adam lag als unförmlicher Klotz 80 Jahre lang; dann hat ihm Gott menschliche Gestalt, aber ohne Seele, verliehen, in welchem Zustande er 120 Jahre lang blieb. Darauf blies ihm Gott dem Lebensodem ein.[111]

Woher kommen diese Zahlen?

Der Islam kennt die Schöpfung in sechs Tagen;[112] wie kommt nun diese Tradition überhaupt von Jahren zu reden, und wenn schon von Jahren die Rede ist, so müsste, nach der Gewohnheit der muhammedanischen Legende, von tausenden oder zehntausenden von Jahren gesprochen werden. Woher auf einmal diese Bescheidenheit und Genügsamkeit? Und auch bei dieser Genügsamkeit wäre unbedingt eine runde Zahl, Hundert Jahre, zu erwarten. Wie sind nun die exakten Zahlen 80,120 entstanden?

Ich vermute nun durch Kombination folgender Agadoth:

1. Nach dem in der Agada geläufigen Stundenplan für den sechsten Schöpfungstag, war Adam in der dritten Stunde ein Klumpen,[113] in der vierten wurden seine Glieder ausgebildet und in der fünften wurde ihm der Lebensodem eingehaucht.[114] 2. Ein

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[110] 9.8, bei Kautzsch I S. 492.

[111] Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* S. 62.

[112] Vgl. oben Anm. 75.

[113] In manchen gnostischen Systemen schaffen die Engel den Menschen, aber bloss als Körper, er blieb unbewegt und unbeseelt wie eine Bildsäule. Vgl. Aptowitzer, Le creation de l'homme *REJ* LXXV (1922) S. 15 f. Vgl. Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte* S. 244. Vgl. noch die Ansicht der Naassener, dass der erste Mensch eine Säule, ohne Leben und Bewegung gewesen sei. (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 193).

[114] Abot R. Natan I, Sanh. 38b, Pes. ed. Buber 150b, Abot R. Natan II Rez. cap. II E. Lev. r. XXIX, Pes. r. ed. Friedmann 187b, Tan. שמיני §8, ed. Buber בראשית §25, שמיני §13, Pirke R. Eli'ezer XI, Mid. Ps. XCII §3, Buber, Likkutim S. 17. Vgl. Aptowitzer in *Simonsenfestschrift* SS. 112, 121.

Gottestag = 1000 Jahre.[115] 3. Ein Gottestag wird in 12 Stunden zu je 83⅔ Jahre geteilt.[116] 4. Die Schöpfungswoche ist Symbol der Weltwoche von 6 Jahrtausenden Bestand und dem siebenten Jahrtausend der Ruhe, oder des Erlasses.[117]

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[115] Sanh. 97a, Gen. r. XIX 8, XXII 1, LXXXVIII 2, Lev. r. XIX, Anf., Cant. r. zu 5, 11, Tanḥ. וישב §4, וילך §2, Pes. r. I 4b, Mid. Sam. V 2, Seder Eliahu r. 11, Num. r. V 4, XIV 12, Mid. Ps. XC 2, 17. Bet ha-Midr. VI S. 8 No. 88. Mid. Abkir in Yal. Exodus § 258 = Buber, Liḳḳuṭim S. 21. Dieselbe Rechnung im Kuran 22.46: ". . . und siehe, ein Tag ist bei deinem Herrn, gleich tausend Jahren von denen, die ihr rechnet," das. 32.4: "Er lenkt alle Dinge vom Himmel bis zur Erde; alsdann steigen sie empor zu ihm an einem Tage, dessen Mass tausend Jahre sind, von denen die ihr zählt." Vgl. Anm. 117. Eine merkwürdige Parallele dazu findet sich in einer jungen Agadaschrift: Jener Tag (des Gerichtes) wird tausend Jahre lang sein in den Jahren der Menschen. A-B d. R. Akiba III Version beigedruckt der Wertheimerschen Ausgabe des Alfabet Midr. S. 89. In diesem Satze ist bloss der tausendjährige Tag Gottes agadisch, was auch diese Schrift selbst an anderer Stelle hat (S. 107). Die beiden anderen Punkte: Der Tag des Gerichtes wird tausend Jahre dauern und die Angabe "nach den Jahren der Menschen," kommen in der Agada sonst nirgends vor. Der Verfasser dieser Schrift hat also seine Angaben sicherlich aus muhammedanischer Quelle geschöpft. In der Tat zeigt sich in dieser Schrift, in dem Traktat vom Satan (S. 104 f.) ein starker muhammedanischer Einschlag. In diesem Traktate wird der in der Agada kaum angedeutete eschatologische Kampf gegen den Satan genau so geschildert wie in der Eschatologie der Muhammedaner, doch darüber ein anderes Mal.

[116] Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer Kap. VII, XLVIII.

[117] Sanh. 97a. Seder Eliahu II Anf. (ed. Friedmann S. 6), Pirḳe R. Eli'ezer XIX. Vgl. Luria z. St. Anm. 49. Vgl. slav. Henoch XXXIII 1-2 ed. Bonwetsch S. 31 und dazu Volz, *Jüd. Eschatologie* SS. 30. 294, 297. Die Weltwoche ist höchstwahrscheinlich eine Nachbildung der Schöpfungswoche. Vgl. Nachmanides und Baḥja zu Gen. 2.1. Mid. ha-gadol ed. Schechter S. 62. Sefer ha-Peliah angeführt im Yalḳuṭ Reubeni zu Gen. 2.3. Eine ausführliche Behandlung des Themas bei Recanati zu Gen. das. Dort heisst es u. a.: Unsere Lehrer s. A. haben gesagt: Und Gott segnete dem siebenten Tag (Gen. 2.3), damit ist gemeint: Gott segnete die zukünftige Welt, die im siebenten Jahrtausend beginnt. Dieser Midrasch findet sich im Ber. rabbati des R. Mose ha-Darschan z. St. (Ms. Prag. Abschrift in meinem Besitze). Auch die muhammedanischen Theologen des zweiten Jhdt. d. H. deuten die sechs Schöpfungstage des Kurans auf grosse Perioden von ungefähr tausend Jahren, wobei sie sich auf Sure 22.46 berufen. Goldziher im *Gedenkbuch zur Errinerung an D. Kaufmann* S. 91, Anm. 2. Goldziher bemerkt dazu: "Ich möchte die Vermuthung aussprechen, dass wir in dem eigentümlichen Verhältnis, in das sich Muhammed und die ältesten Interpreten seiner Lehre zu der jüdischen Sabbathüberlieferung stellen, ein Beispiel, für die latente Wirkung parsischer Ideen erblicken können, die

Also: eine (Gottes-) Stunde lag Adam als Klumpen, abgerundet 80 Jahre, eine Stunde, dauerte die Bildung der Glieder. In der Mitte der dritten Stunde wurde ihm der Lebensodem eingehaucht = 1½ (Gottes-) Stunden = 120 Jahre.

2. "Gott liess dann die tausend Jahre vor Adams Körper geschaffene Seele in das von ihm ausstrahlende Lichtmeer tauchen und befahl ihr, Adam zu beleben. Sie zeigte einiges Widerstreben, die unendlichen Räume des Himmels zu verlassen und ihren Wohnsitz im engen Körper eines Menschen zu nehmen. Aber Gott rief ihr zu: Belebe Adam gegen deinen Willen und zur Strafe wegen deines Ungehorsams, sollst du dich einst auch wieder gegen deinen Willen von ihm losreissen. Hierauf hauchte Gott die Seele mit solcher Gewalt an, dass sie durch die Nase in Adams Kopf einzog."[118]

Diese Tradition setzt sich aus drei Gedanken zusammen, von denen zwei sicherlich agadischen Ursprunges sind, während der dritte auch in nichtjüdischen Quellen vorkommt.

a. Die Seele Adams wurde tausend Jahre vor der Schöpfung seines Körpers geschaffen.—

"Am Ende und am Anfang hast du mich gebildet (Ps. 139.5)—am Ende des sechsten Schöpfungstages und am Anfange des sechsten Schöpfungstages. Es sind nämlich sechs Dinge am sechsten Tage erschaffen worden: lebende Haustiere, Reptilien, Feldtiere, Adam und Eva, und die Seele Adams wurde zuerst geschaffen, wie es heisst (Gen. 1.24): Die Erde bringe hervor eine lebende Seele . . . Lebende Seele bedeutet aber nichts anderes als Seele Adams, denn es heisst (Gen. 2,7): Adam ward eine lebende Seele.[119] Nun kommt aber der Ausdruck "lebende Seele" (נפש חיה)

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sich bereits an der Wiege des Islam als gestaltendes Element geltend machte." Es sind ihm die agadischen Quellen entgangen. Eine genaue Übereinstimmung mit den jüd. Quellen findet sich bei Ibn Kessir (angeführt in [Hammers] *Rosenöl* I, 2):

"In sechs Tagen, jeder zu tausend Sonnenjahren, schuf Gott Himmel und Erde und was in ihnen ist. Sechstausend Jahre soll die Welt währen, die Dauer der Schöpfungszeit ward bestimmt zur Dauer der Schöpfung."

[118] Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* S. 13.

[119] Tan. תזריע §1 (ed. Buber §2), gekürzter Text Gen. r. VII E. und XCVIII Anf.: R. Eleazar sagte: Eine lebende Seele, das ist die Seele Adams. Vgl. Lev. r. XIV Anf. und Mid. Ps. 139 §5. Vgl. Aptowitzer, *Simonsenfestschrift* S. 118.

auch beim fünten Schöpfungstag (Gen. 1.20 f) vor. Auf diesen Ausdruck bezog man missverständlich die Agada R. Eleasars, so ergab sich aus ihr, dass die Seele Adams einen Tag früher geschaffen wurde, d.h. nach unserer obigen Ausführung ein Schöpfungstag = tausend Jahre, also ist die Seele Adams tausend Jahre früher geschaffen."[120]

b. Gott tauchte die Seele Adams in das von ihm ausstrahlende Lichtmeer. Damit wird in poetischer Form die Vorstellung von der Lichtnatur Adams zum Ausdruck gebracht: Adam = Licht. Diese Vorstellung kommt bei Juden, Christen, namentlich bei den Gnostikern und auch bei den Persern vor,[121] so dass hier nicht gesagt werden kann, aus welcher Quelle unsere Tradition geschöpft hat. Was die Agada betrifft so wollen wir aus ihr folgendes anführen.

"Warum wurde das Gebot der Sabbatlichter den Frauen übergeben? Da Adam das Licht Gottes war, wie es heisst: Das Licht Gottes ist die Seele Adams (Prov. 20.27) und Eva dieses Licht ausgelöscht hat, da sprach Gott: Sie soll das Gebot der Sabbatlichter erhalten, um ihre Tat zu sühnen, da sie das Licht ausgelöscht hat."[122]

An einer anderen Stelle heisst es: Da sie die Seele Adams ausgelöscht hat, hat sie deswegen das Gebot der Sabbatlichter erhalten.[123] Also die Seele Adams = Licht Gottes. Aus diesen Wendungen ergibt sich aber, dass unsere muhammedanische Tradition der Agada näher steht als allen anderen Quellen, die von dem Lichtwesen Adams sprechen. Auch die Vorstellung des *Tauchens* in Licht kommt in den jüdischen Quellen vor. So heisst es im Talmud, dass Gott selbst sich in Feuer taucht.[124] Bei den Mystikern heisst es, dass die Engel ein Tauchbad im Feuer nehmen.[125] Für das Alter dieser Vorstellung ist die Tatsache massgebend, dass sie schon beim alten Paetan Jannai vorkommt.[126]

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[120] Dasselbe Missverständnis schon bei Epiphanius, vgl. oben Anm. 56.

[121] Vgl. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme* S. 131 und auch oben Anm. 74.

[122] Tan. ed. Buber נח §1, מצורע §17 aus P. Sab. II, 45b: אדם הראשון נרו של עולם היה שנ' נר אלהים נשמת אדם וגרמה לו חוה מיתה לפיכך מסרו מצות הנר לאשה. Die richtige Lesart ist wohl נרו של הקב"ה, das Licht Gottes, wie in dem angeführten Bibelvers. So heisst es in der Tat in Abot R. Natan II Rez. Kap. 9 (ed. Schechter 13a): שהיה אדם הראשון נרו של הקב"ה היה מאיר בו לכל באי עולם. Der erste Adam war das Licht Gottes, damit leuchtete er allen die auf die Welt kommen sollten. Das. auch noch ein anderer Text. Vgl. Tan. נח §1 מצורע §9.

[123] Gen. r. XVII E.

[124] Sanh. 39a בנורא טביל. Freilich darf das nicht als ernste Ansicht aufgefasst werden, sondern als Stichelei gegen den parsischen Feueranbeter.

c. Die Seele weigerte sich, ihren Wohnsitz im Körper eines Menschen zu nehmen. Aber Gott rief ihr zu: Belebe Adam gegen deinen Willen, und zur Strafe wegen deines Ungehorsams, sollst du dich einst auch wieder gegen deinen Willen von ihm losreissen.

Was Adam betrifft, so findet sich dieser Zug weder in der jüdischen Agada noch in christlichen Legenden, ist aber in bezug auf den Menschen Eigentum der Agada. So heisst es schon in der Mischna:[127] Wider deinen Willen wirst du gebildet, wider deinen Willen lebst du und wider deinen Willen stirbst du.

Besonders wichtig für unsere Zwecke ist folgende Agada:[128]

"Gleich nach der Empfängnis sagt Gott zu dem über die Geister gesetzten Engel: Bringe jenen Geist, der im Paradiese sich aufhält und so und so aussieht. Der Engel bringt sogleich den bestimmten Geist vor Gott. Vor Gott gebracht, wirft sich der Geist anbetend nieder. Da spricht Gott zu dem Geiste: Gehe hinein in den Tropfen des N. N. Der Geist öffnet seinen Mund und spricht: 'Herr der Welt, mir angemessen ist die Welt, in der ich mich aufgehalten seit meiner Erschaffung. Warum willst du mich im diesen verwesenden Tropfen hineinbringen, da ich doch heilig und rein bin und von deiner Herrlichkeit stamme.' Da spricht Gott zum Geiste: Die Welt in die ich dich bringen will ist schöner als die, in der du bisnun warst, und als ich dich schuf, schuf ich dich für diesen Tropfen. Da bringt Gott den Geist wider seinen Willen in den Tropfen . . . Das Ende des Menschen ist gekommen. Der Engel kommt und spricht zum Geiste: Erkennst du mich? Jawohl, antwortet der Geist, aber wozu bist du denn heute gekommen, wo du doch bisher nicht zu kommen pflegtest? Ich komme, sagt der Engel, um dich aus dieser Welt herauszuführen, deine Zeit zum Abschiednehmen ist gekommen. Da beginnt der Geist zu weinen . . .[129] Der Engel spricht: Ich sagte dir es doch, wider deinen Willen bist du geschaffen worden, wider deinen Willen bist du geboren worden, wider deinen Willen lebst du, wider deinen Willen stirbst du und wider deinen Willen wist du Rechenschaft ablegen vor Gott."

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[125] Vgl. z. B. Jellinek Bet ha-Midr. I 59 f, III 162, V 165 (Dieselbe Ausführung in Pes. r. XX 97b, wo das Tauchen im Feuer fehlt.) Wertheimer, Bate Midrashot I 29 f.

[126] Maḥsor Yannai ed. Davidson S. 23: כהניי אשר במעשה טהורים למעלה באש מוטהרים. Die Vorstellung, dass die Engel ein Tauchbad nehmen, ist bei den Muhammedanern geläufig. "Jeden Tag taucht er (Gabriel) sich 360 mal in das Lichtmeer" (Wolf, *Eschatologie* S. 15).

[127] Abot IV 2.

[128] Tan. פקודי §3. Dieser Text ist in Jellineks Bet ha-Midr. I 153 ff. unter dem Titel: סדר יצירת הולד aus einer Handschrift veröffentlicht. Vgl. über diese Agada Aptowitzer, Observations on the Criminal Law of the Jews, *JQR* NS XVI, S. 118.

3. Schöpfung Adams in der letzten Stunde des Freitags. In der muhammedanischen Tradition wird allgemein Adam in der Assrstunde erschaffen.[130] Aber das Assr umfasst die Zeit des ganzen Nachmittags, so dass aus dieser allgemeinen Angabe die Stunde der Schöpfung Adams nicht zu ersehen ist. Aber bei Tabari heisst es im Namen Abu Bekr's:

"Die Juden kamen zum Propheten (Gott sei ihm gnädig) und sprachen: 'Muhammed! Benachrichtige uns davon welche Kreaturen Gott an diesen sechs Tagen geschaffen hat.' Er sprach: 'Am ersten und zweiten Tag schuf Gott die Erde, am dritten Tage schuf er die Berge, am vierten Tage schuf er die Städte, Lebensmittel und Flüsse, ihr (der Erde) Kulturland und ihre Wüsteneien, am fünften Tage bis drei Stunden vor dem Ende des Freitags (wörtl: bis drei Stunden vom Freitag übrig geblieben sind) schuf er die Himmel und Engel. Und er schuf in der ersten dieser drei Stunden die Todesstunde, in der zweiten das Unglück in der dritten den Menschen'."[131]

Daraus erklärt sich eine andere Tradition bei Tabari zu Sure 17.12, dass Adam, als der Lebenshauch erst in einen Teil seines Körpers eingedrungen war, zu Gott sagte: "O Herr, beeile dich, damit du noch vor Sonnenuntergang fertig wirst!"[132]

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[129] Vgl. Yoma 20b; Gen. r. VI 7, Mid. Sam. IX 3; Koh. r. zu 1. 5; Pirke R. Eli'ezer XXXIV.

[130] Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* S. 12; Goldziher in *Kaufmann-Gedenkschrift* S. 92 Anm. 4.

[131] Tabari zu Sure 50. 37. vgl. auch Goldziher a. a. O.

[132] Tabari zu Sure 17.12 f bei Grünbaum S. 62.

Das Beeilen war doch wohl nur deswegen nötig, weil mit Eintritt des Sabbats die Arbeit nicht wird fortgesetzt werden können.

In der Agada ist ungemein häufig die Anschauung verbreitet, dass die Schöpfung Adams in der fünften oder nach anderen Versionen spätestens in der siebenten Stunde des Freitags vollendet war.[133] Mit der letzteren Angabe kann die allgemeine Angabe der muhammedanischen Tradition übereinstimmen, aber die Angabe Tabaris: in der letzten Stunde des Freitags, kann mit der Anschauung der Agada nicht in Einklang gebracht werden. Und trotzdem hat sie ihre Parallele in einer jüdischen Schrift:

"Adams Schöpfung fand erst am Abend des Freitags statt, und hätte er nun sie (die Gesamtschöpfung) auf einmal geschaffen, wie wären sie (Adam und Eva) dann durch sechs Tage verborgen geblieben."[134]

"Zuletzt wurde das menschliche Geschlecht geschaffen wie die Torah sagt, dass Adam das letzte der Geschöpfe und am *Abend* des Freitags geschaffen wurde und so sagten unsere Weisen s. A.: "am Freitag wurde Adam geschaffen, usw."[135]

Bei dem erwähnten Consensus der agadischen Quellen in bezug auf die Stunde der Vollendung Adams ist es nicht wahrscheinlich, dass der Verfasser seine Angabe aus irgend einer agadischen Quelle geschöpft. Wahrscheinlich ist es, dass der Verfasser unter dem Einflusse der muhammedanischen Tradition irrtümlich seine Behauptung als Angabe der Rabbinen mitteilt. Jedoch werden wir im folgenden sehen, dass diese Auffassung auch in jüdischen Kreisen doch nicht ganz fremd war.

Die bei Tabari zu Sure 17.12 f. mitgeteilte Tradition ist umso auffallender, als im Islam der Sabbat nicht als Ruhetag gilt, vielmehr muhammedanische Schriftsteller vom Kuran ausgehend den Sabbat bekämpfen.[136]

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[133] Vgl. oben Anm. 114.

[134] Kitâb ma'âni an-nafs Kap. III ed. Goldziher S. 11, hebr. Übersetzung Paris 1896 S. 73: ויצירת האדם לא היתה אלא בערב יום הששי ולו יצרם בבת אחת, לא השאירו ששה ימים מבלי להגלות.

[135] Das. Kap. XVI ed. Goldziher S. 55. Hebr. Ubersetzung S. 73: ואחר כל אלה נברא המין האנושי כמו שאמרה התורה שאדם היה האחרון ליצורים ונברא ביום הששי בערב וכן אמרו החכמים ז״ל בע״ש נברא אדם וגו׳.

[136] Vgl. Goldzieher in *Kaufmann-Gedenkschrift* S. 86 ff, vgl. das. S. 74.

Diese Angabe Tabaris kann also nur so erklärt werden, dass hier eine jüdische Tradition gedankenlos herübergenommen wurde. Aber eine solche jüdische Tradition ist, wie wir gesehen, nirgends vorhanden. Es muss also angenommen werden, dass Tabari oder seine Gewährsmänner eine andere Tradition herübergenommen und auf Adam übertragen haben. Dies wäre folgende Agada:

"Die er geschaffen hat um zu vollenden (Gen. 2.3), es heisst nicht geschaffen und vollendet, sondern geschaffen um zu vollenden, da der Sabbat zuvorkam und das Werk nicht zu Ende geführt wurde. R. Benaja sagt: dies sind die Dämonen, Gott hat ihre Seelen geschaffen und während er mit der Schöpfung ihrer Körper beschäftigt war, brach der heilige Sabbat heran, da hat er sie gelassen und sie blieben—Geister ohne Körper."[137]

Es ist nun zweifellos, dass die Tradition bei Tabari nur aus dieser Agada zu erklären ist. Andererseits kann bei gedankenloser Herübernahme nicht von Kombination und Übertragung die Rede sein. Es muss daher die Agada R. Benaja's schon in jüdischen Quellen mit der Schöpfung Adams verquickt worden sein.

Eine Spur dieser Verbindung liegt vielleicht in der Zusammenstellung bei Tabari vor:

"Und er schuf in der ersten dieser drei (letzten) Stunden die *Todesstunde*, in den zweiten das *Unglück*, in der dritten den Menschen."

4. Die Schöpfung der Berge.

Im Kuran wird die Schöpfung der Berge besonders hervorgehoben.[138] und die Tradition, wie wir gesehen, weiss genau, dass die Berge am dritten Tage geschaffen wurden "am dritten Tage schuf er die Berge."

Diese Angabe findet sich auch in einem jüngeren Agadawerke:

"Am dritten Tage war die Erde oben wie ein Tal und das Wasser bedeckte die ganze Erdoberfläche; als aber Gott sprach (Gen. 1.9):' es sammeln sich die Wasser', stiegen aus den Enden der

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[137] Tan. ed. Buber בראשית §17; Gen. r. VII 5 im Namen Rab's.

[138] Vgl. 16.15; 21.32; 31.9; 41.9. Goldziher a. a. O. 74 bemerkt dazu, dies sei "ein Beweis dafür, dass die Anregungen, die auf ihn wirkten, sich nicht in der pentateuchischen Erzählung erschöpfen."

Erde die Berge und Hügel auf und wurden über die ganze Erde verteilt."[139]

Vielleicht aber findet sich die Angabe, dass die Berge am dritten Tage geschaffen wurden schon im slavischen Henoch. Es heisst nämlich dort:

"Und am dritten Tage gebot ich der Erde wachsen zu lassen . . . Bäume und Berge."[140]

Zwar haben manche Texte "Bäume und Gräser,"[141] was scheinbar passender ist, aber in der entsprechenden Stelle der kürzeren Version heisst es ohne Variante:

"Der Erde aber gebot ich hervorzubringen alle Arten Bäume und alle Berge."[142]

Nur werden hier Bäume und Berge am vierten Tag geschaffen. Jedenfalls aber haben wir in einer alten Agada die besondere Hervorhebung der Schöpfung der Berge wie im Kuran.

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[139] Pirke R. Eli'ezer III Anf. בשלישי היתה הארץ משור כבקעה וכשיצא הדיבור מפי הגבורה יקוו המים עלו מקצות הארץ ההרים והגבעות ונתפרדו על פני כל הארץ. Luria bemerkt zu dieser Stelle, dass sie im Widerspruch stehe zu Gen. r. III 8 wo gesagt wird, dass am ersten Tage vier Dinge geschaffen wurden: Berge, Himmel, Erde und Licht. Auch Goldziher a. a. O. verweist auf die Stelle in Gen. r. als Parallele zum Kuran. Dies ist wohl nach dem Text der gangbaren Ausgaben richtig, aber dieser Text erweist sich schon durch die Erwähnung der Berge vor Himmel und Erde als unmöglich. Den richtigen Text bieten die Handschriften bei Theodor S. 24 דברים חדשים "neue Sachen," vgl. Theodor z. St.

[140] XXX, 1 ed. Bonwetsch (*T. U.* III) S. 27.

[141] Vgl. Bonwetsch z. St.

[142] Das. S. 80.

NACHTRÄGE

Zu Anm. 11. Schöpfung in einem Akt.—Vgl. Ibn Esra שער השמים I in *Kerem Ḥemed* IV SS. 7, 9.

Zu Anm. 20. Alle Seelen in Adam.—Einen Anklang an diesen Gedanken finden wir bei dem berühmten Kabbalisten Moses Cordovero: Alle 600,000 Seelen, die eine Generation umfasst, waren rein und unbefleckt in Adam vorhanden, Mitgeteilt von Heinemann, *HUCA* IV S. 170.

Zu Anmm. 104–108. Die Opferenden auf dem Tempelplatz.—Vgl. Mid. Tadsche XX, ed. Epstein S. XXXVII; Targum zu Cant, 3.6; II Chr. 3.1.

STUDIES IN HISTORY OF MATHEMATICS FROM HEBREW AND ARABIC SOURCES

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1. THE TERMINOLOGY OF MULTIPLICATION IN ARABIC AND HEBREW SOURCES

I. INTRODUCTION. GREEK AND ORIENTAL TERMS

WHILE speaking of the terminology of multiplication the historians of mathematics usually refer only to the Greek-Latin terms *πολυπλασιάζειν-multiplicare*, generally adopted by almost all European languages. These terms bear witness to the clear, classic Greek thought conceiving the process of multiplication as "a folding together of many equal addends," and as "an abridgment of addition."[1] But human thought does not come from a single source and does not grow along one direct line. Our knowledge and science is rather like a central lake in which many different streams mix and lose themselves.

It is the purpose of this paper to call the attention to some Arabic and Hebrew terms which, though not exhibiting the clearness and logic of the Greek term, but rather displaying a strange and peculiar way of thinking, still might lead far back to the ancient and primitive origins of mathematical reasoning, and be of considerable interest for the historian of mathematics.

II. ARABIC TERMS: AL-KHOWĀRIZMĪ'S DEFINITION HIS TRANSLATORS. MULTIPLICATION AND DUPLATION

The Arabs have no such term as *multiplicare*. Their terms for multiplication are: *ḍaraba* "to strike, to smite, to hit," which is the principal and common term, and *ḍâʿafa* or *ḍaʿafa*, "to fold, double," which is only rarely used for multiplication in general, being more often employed as a special term for "duplation."[2] The word *ḍa'afa* is of old Arabic stock.[3] It often occurs in the Koran, not as a mathematical term but to express the idea of "double, manifold, many times." This term reminds us of the Egyptian method of multiplication by doubling. The same Egyptian idea is also underlying in the Greek-Latin terms: "to fold, double many times." The term *ḍaraba* was, to the writer's knowledge, first introduced by the first Arab mathematician Muhammed ibn Musa al-Khowârizmî (c. 825), and it has since then remained the usual technical term for multiplication.

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[1] D. E. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, II, p. 101; Tropfke *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*, I, 2nd ed., p. 77.

Al-Khowârizmî employs *ḍa'afa* for multiplication only once, and this is in his definition of multiplication, where it is adduced as an explanation of *ḍaraba*. His definition reads:[4] *I'lam annahu lâ budda likulli 'adadin yuḍrabu fî 'adadin min an yuḍâ'afa aḥadu-l-'adadayni bi'adadi mâ fî-l-aḥari mina-l-âḥâdi.* "Know that the only way to strike[5] any number in another number is to double[6] one of the two numbers as many times as there are units in the other number."[7] It is, however, interesting to note that in another instance *ḍa‘afa* is used by al-Khowârizmî as a special term for duplation and *ḍaraba* is employed to explain and define *ḍa‘afa*. So he says:[8] "If you want to double a root," and adds in parenthesis *wama‘nâ iḍ‘âfika iyyâhu an taḍribahu fî ithnayni*, "and to double it means to strike it in two." Thus he uses *ḍa‘afa* now for duplation and then for multiplication,[9] and he defines now *ḍaraba* by *ḍa‘afa* and then again *ḍa‘afa* by *ḍaraba*. This procedure is not at all surprising, since the writer has already taken occasion to notice it as a peculiar characteristic of al-Khowârizmî.[10] In this particular case, however, a plausible explanation for it can be given. *Da‘afa* was the old, well-known word for "doubling" and "multiplying." As such it was adduced to explain the new technical term *ḍaraba*, when first introduced, and was then discarded as a term for multiplication, being retained as a special term for duplation only.

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[2] See hereafter note 13.

[3] It has two meanings: (1) "to be weak," and (2) "to be double," "manifold," and corresponds to the Hebrew-Aramaic stem *'ayyêf*. In the Biblical *'ayêf* "to be faint, or weary" the first root is preserved, and in the Aramaic *'ayyêf*, "to double," "make or be manifold," the second root is exhibited. See the *Talmudic Dictionaries* of Levy, III, p. 643; Jastrow, p. 1073; *'Aruk completum* VI, p. 236.

[4] Al-Khowârizmî's *Algebra*, ed. Rosen, London, 1831, Arabic text, p. 15; Engl. text, p. 21.

[5] Multiply.

[6] Repeat, take as an addend.

[7] This is the definition of Euclid, *Elementa, Liber* VII, definition 15. It was accepted by most of the mediaeval writers; see Smith, *History*, II, 102 sq. This definition is also given by the *Iḥwân al-Ṣafâ* ("Brethren of Purity"); see Fr. Dieterici, *Die Propaedeutik der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1865, p. 15. The other type of definition, quoted by Smith, *ib.*, which conceives the multiplication as a search for a third number which shall have such a ratio to the one factor as the other factor has to the unit, is also very old. Both definitions are given by al-Karkhî (*c.* 1010) in his *Kafî fîl Ḥisâb*, ed. Hochheim, in German, I, p. 4 seq. Al-Karkhî cites the second type not as a new definition but as a definition preferred by those who "admit a division of the unit" i. e. who want to include fractional factors. See also hereafter, p. 255, notes 34-36.

None of the extant translations of al-Khowârizmî render these terms in a correct way. *Ḍaraba* is translated by all of them by *multiplicare*, while *ḍa‘afa* is given differently as *sumere*, *duplicare* (which is correct), *numerare*, and "repeat."[11] More accuracy in translation, however, would require one to give in the footnote also the literal meaning of the terms, namely: "to strike" and "to double."[12] The Arab mathematicians, as already mentioned above, are differentiating between these two terms, using *ḍarb* for multiplication and *taḍ'îf* (the verbal nouns of *ḍaraba* and *ḍa'afa*) for duplation.[13]

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[8] *Algebra*, Arabic text, p. 19, Engl. text pp. 27–28.

[9] It does not matter at all that one time the III form *ḍâ‘afa* and another time the IV form *aḍ‘afa* is applied.

[10] See the writer's articles "On Terms relating to Area" in *The American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 34, p. 80; "The Term Root," *ib.* vol. 35, p. 68.

[11] It seems convenient to give here all the translations of al-Khowârizmî's definition *in extenso*: (1) Robert of Chester (*c.* 1140), ed. Karpinski, p. 90, translates: *In primis ergo sciendum est, quod numerus cum numero "multiplicari" non possit, nisi cum numerus multiplicandus toties "sumatur," quoties in numero cum quo ipse multiplicatur unitas reperitur.* (2) Gherard of Cremona (*c.* 1150) in Libri, *Histoire des sciences mathêmatiques en Italie*, I. p. 265, says: *Scias itaque impossibile esse quin unus omnium duorum numerorum quorum unus in alterum "multiplicatur," "duplicetur" secundum quantitatem unitatum que est in altero.* On the authorship of this translation by Gherard see Smith, *History*, II, p. 382.; Karpinski, *Robert of Chester's Translation of the Algebra*, p. 42; Björnbo in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, VI (1905), pp. 239-48. and Cantor, I, 4th ed., p. 803. (3) The anonymous Latin version of al-Khowârizmî's arithmetic edited by Boncompagni in *Trattati d' Aritmetica*, Roma 1857, under the title *Algoritmi de numero Indorum*, p. 10 reads: *Etiam patefeci in libro, quod necesse est omni numero qui "multiplicatur" in aliquo quolibet numero, ut "duplicetur" unus ex eis secundum unitates alterius.* The wording of this definition is more similar to the style of Gherard's translation of the Algebra

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than to that of Robert of Chester's. This fact should be given consideration in deciding the question as to who was the translator of the *Algoritmi;* see Smith, *History*, I, p. 170 and Poole R. L., *The Exchequer*, p. 44, note 2. Cantor, I, 4th ed., p. 713, note 6, cites the conjecture that Adelhard of Bath was the translator. Steinschneider, *Die Europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, p. 42, No. 174, quotes Suter, *Die Mathematiker der Araber*, p. 11, as saying: "übersetzt von Gerard von Cremona oder Adelard von Bath" and adds: "aber ohne alle Bergründung." Woepcke, *Sur l' introduction de l' arithmetique Indienne en occident*, pp. 18–19, recognized that the definition in the *Algeritmi de numero Indorum* comes from the Arabic, but he did not know that it is the verbal translation of the definition in al-Knowârizmî's algebra. Steinschneider in his article on Ibn Ezra in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, 1880, p. 106 (also in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, p. 470, note 179) quotes this definition of *Algoritmi* and wonders why he uses the different terms *multiplicare* and *duplicare*: "Hat der Übersetzer hier dasselbe wort verschieden übersetzt?" But it is evident that the words *patefeci in libro* refer to the *Algebra* and its definition of multiplication with the different terms *ḍaraba* and *ḍa'afa.* (4) Johannes Hispalensis (*c.* 1140) in *Algorismi de Pratica Arismetrice*, p. 38, ed. by Boncompagni, *loc. cit.* reads: *Aliquem numerum "multiplicare" est, ipsum secundum unitates sui ipsius vel alterius "numerare."* The significance of the term *numerare* will be discussed hereafter: see notes 17, 21. (5) F. Rosen, the modern English translator, shows the same lack of accuracy. His translation reads (p. 21): "Whenever one number is to be 'multiplied' by another, the one must be 'repeated' as many times as the other contains units."

[12] It is easy to condemn the footnote "as merely an apology for obscurity or as an exhibition of pedantry, but difficult to dispense with its aid," as Professor D. E. Smith justly points out in the Preface to his *History of Mathematics*, I, p. V. Especially in the translation of ancient works, the text and the footnote will always have to complement each other.

[13] On the special chapter on duplation in Arabic works, see Smith, *History*, II, p. 34, notes 4 and 5; Cantor, *Geschichte der Mathematik*, I, 4th ed., pp. 717, 761; Suter, *Das Rechenbuch des al-Ḥaṣṣâr*, p. 14; Steinschneider, in *Hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. 14, p. 38. Eliyyah Mizraḥî in his *Arithmetic* f. 4b, quoted by Steinschneider, *Ibn Ezra*, p. 112 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, p. 478), says: "Some of the ancients treated also of *kêfel* and *ḥillûḳ be'emṣa'*,—of duplation and mediation,—but it is not justified. Dr. George Sarton. in a private

III. THE EARLIER HEBREW TERMS, MANAH, ḤASHAB THE LATIN TERMS, FACIO, DUCO, AND THE CHINESE CHENG. SAVASORDA AND PLATO OF TIVOLI

The first and most important among the Hebrew mathematicians is Abraham Savasorda (*c.* 1100). His terms for multiplication are *manah* "to count, to number" and *kafal* "to fold, double." *Manah mispar be-mispar* "to count one number by another number" or *manah ṣela‘ be-ṣela‘* "to count one side by another side" is his usual phrase for multiplication.[14] Less often and apparently more for the sake of variety he uses also the term *kafal*.[15] These terms are evidently chosen by Savasorda to substitute the Arabic terms *ḍaraba* and *ḍa‘afa*. Savasorda apparently knew al-Khowârizmî's algebra, and he gives a definition of multiplication which reads as the Hebrew translation of al-Khowârizmî's definition using *manah* and *kafal* instead of *ḍaraba* and *ḍa‘afa*.[16]

It is only natural that Savasorda, who is anxious to use a classic Hebrew style, hesitated to translate literally *ḍaraba* by

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letter, calls the writer's attention to the fact, that down to the 13th century at least duplation and mediation were treated as separate operations in the Latin algorisms and the native algorisms derived from them. Sarton refers f. e. to *Isis*, XI, p. 60. Cf. also Smith, Loc. cit. Ibn Khaldûn (*c.* 1400), however, uses *ḍa‘afa* and *ḍaraba* in the same sense, namely for multiplication; see his *Muqaddamat*, chapter on mathematics, ed. Beirut, 1886, p. 420, line 3 from the bottom; p. 421, and p. 422, lines 13, 15. Similarly Abenbeder in his *Algebra*, ed. Sanchez Perez, Madrid, 1916, p. 11, uses *iḍ‘âf* and *ḍarb* indifferently for multiplication.

[14] See his Hebrew Geometry, *Ḥibbûr ha-Meshîḥah veha-Tishboret*, p. 11, §22; p. 24, §§44, 45; p. 28, §48; pp. 30–31, §§50–50a; pp. 97–99, §§156–162. This book was translated from Hebrew into Latin under the title *Liber Embadorum* by Plato of Tivoli (*c.* 1120); it was edited by Curtze in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, 1902.

[15] *Loc. cit.* p. 11, §§22–24; p. 23, §43; pp. 106–107, §§177–180. Both terms also in his astronomy *Ṣûrat ha-Areṣ*, Offenbach, 1720, f. 38b, 39b.

[16] Savasorda's definition reads: (p. 11, §22); והמספר המנוי במספר הוא המספר הנכפל פעמים אשר מנינם כמנין האחדים אשר במספר השני אשר הוא נמנה בו "A number 'counted' by another number is a number which is 'doubled' as many times as there are units in the other number by which it is counted". His translator Plato of Tivoli renders it, as follows: *Numerorum "multiplicatio" est unius numeri secundum quantitatem unitatum alterius "aggregatio," aliusque numerus ex multiplicatione proveniet.* The word *aggregatio* and the end indicate that Plato knew the original definition of Euclid, *Elementa*, VII, def. 15.

hikkah "to strike, smite," which would not be in harmony with the logic of mathematics or with the spirit of the Hebrew language. But while the Latin translators had the old term "*multiplicare* at their disposal, Savasorda had to create a new Hebrew term and so he adapted the biblical word *manah* "to count, number," for it. In his great encyclopedia, however, he uses instead of *manah* the term *ḥashab* "to figure, compute, calculate."[17]

These two Hebrew terms are in the writer's opinion, the equivalent of the term *ducere* usual in mediaeval Latin for multiplication.[18] *Ducere* was commonly understood to mean "to lead," and the historians did not even attempt to give a reason for the use of this word as a term for multiplication. Cantor,[19] however, conjectured that *multiplicare* is used for abstract numbers and *ducere* "to lead" for geometric magnitudes. This idea can be traced to Tartaglia (1499–1557),[20] but there is no foundation for it, since *ducere* is commonly and promiscue used for all kinds of multiplication. The writer therefore thinks that the term *ducere* was applied to multiplication only on account of its meaning "to count, number, reckon, compute."[21] In a similar meaning the term *facere* "to value, esteem, appraise, prize" was also employed for multiplication. *Facere* is to be found in the works of the agrimensores (*c.* 100–300 C.E.) while the earliest use of *ducere* can be traced to Boetius (*c.* 500).[22] Both terms seem to represent a primitive phase in which multiplication was done by practical counting and regarded as the most difficult and main part of mathematics and therefore expressed by the general terms for counting, calculation and computation. So the Chinese term for multiplication *cheng* has the meanings: "to mount, ascend, ride, achieve high things" and hence, "to calculate" and "to multiply."[23] To Egyptians, too, multiplication and division were known only as a process of counting. They said "count with four 5 times", and meant "multiply 4 by 5", or they said "count with 7 to find 77", and meant "divide 77 by 7". (Cf. Peet, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, pp. 13-14). Or, as Dr. O. Neugebauer fittingly puts it (*Die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Bruchrechnung*, pp. 7-8): The Egyptians, while multiplying, took the one factor as a new unit that was to be counted and repeatedly written down.

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[17] See Smith, *History*, I, p. 206, and Steinschneider, *Gesammelte Schriften*, p. 395. Steinschneider, *Loc. cit.* quotes *ḥashab minyan be-minyan* "to compute one number by another number" for multiplication. Comp. also note 11 for the use of *numerare* by Johannes Hispalensis.

[18] See Batolomeo Veratti, *La Terminologia Matematica*, p. 70; Cantor, *Geschichte der Mathematik*, II, 1st ed. pp. 477, 578, 816; 2nd ed., p. 519; Tropfke, *Geshichte der Elementar-Mathematik*, I, 1st ed., p. 45; 2nd ed., p. 79; Smith, *History*, II, p. 102.

[19] *Loc. cit.*

[20] See Tropfke, *Loc. cit.*

[21] Compare the Latin dictionaries under *duco.*

[22] See Tropfke, *loc. cit.*, p. 78.

Abraham Savasorda might have learned the term *ducere* from Plato of Tivoli who translated his geometry and availed himself of the former's services as an interpreter.[24] After Boetius it was Plato of Tivoli who first made frequent use of *ducere* as a term of multiplication,[25] by the other writers of the twelfth century, however, it was not yet accepted. To the writer's knowledge the term *ducere* does not occur in the *Liber Algorismi de Pratica Arismetrice* of Johannes Hispalensis, in the *Algebra* translated by Gherard of Cremona, in the *Algoritmi de numero Indorum*, or in the *Liber augmenti et diminutionis*.[26] Robert of Chester seemingly knows of this term but does not like to use it, as we may judge from its very rare occurrence in his *Liber Algebrae*.[27] It is only from the beginning of the thirteenth century on that its use became common.[28]

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[23] The writer is obliged to Mr. C. C. Ma, a young Chinese scholar, for this information.

[24] See *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, p. 108.

[25] See *Liber Embadorum*, p. 18, No. 17; p. 34, line 14; p. 66, lines 35, 36; p. 162, lines 19, 24; p. 164, line 27.

[26] Ed. in Libri, *Histoire*, I, pp. 304–370.

[27] Ed. Karpinski, p. 80, note 8; p. 86, line 8; see also p. 161 in the Latin Glossary *ib.*

[28] So, for example, in Jordanus Nemorarius (c. 1220), quoted by Smith, II, p. 102, and in Campanus (c. 1270), quoted by Tropfke, I, 1st ed., p. 45.

IV. THE LATER HEBREW TERMS. IBN EZRA AND MOSES IBN TIBBON. THE FACTORS, THE PRODUCT, AND THE TERM FOR "TIMES"

While the term *ducere* thus occupied a considerable place in mediaeval Latin literature, its Hebrew equivalents *manah* "to count, number," and *ḥashab* "to figure, compute" disappeared after the time of Savasorda. The writer at least has not seen these terms in Hebrew mathematical literature after the time of Savasorda, and the *Thesaurus Totius Hebraitatis* of Ben Jehuda does not record these mathematical meanings of *manah* and *ḥashab* at all.[29] Not familiar with the Latin literature, nor with the term *ducere* in particular, the Hebrews could not understand the reason for the use of such terms as *manah* and *ḥashab*. Hence, these terms were discarded and were replaced by the biblical *kafal* and the new term *hikkah* "to strike," being a translation of the Arabic *ḍaraba*. Those affecting to write in a classic style like Ibn Ezra (d. 1168) and Isaac Israeli (*c.* 1300) used *kafal* only.[30] The earliest use of *hikkah* is to be found in the translations of Moses ibn Tibbon from the Arabic. So, for example, in his Hebrew Euclid (1270) and in his translation of al-Ḥaṣṣâr (1271).[31]

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[29] One of the five manuscripts of the *Sefer ha-Mispar* of Ibn Ezra contains an additional gloss to the chapter on multiplication, in which the phrase *manah ḥeshbôn ʿal ḥeshbôn* "to multiply one number by another number" occurs. But this gloss has already been marked as not genuine by M. Silberberg, the editor of the *Sefer ha-Mispar*, (*ib.* p. 98, note 41). It would be interesting to compare this gloss with the chapter on multiplication in Savasorda's Encyclopedia, which is not yet edited. Otherwise the term *manah* appears in the later Hebrew literature only with the meaning of "to be contained as a divisor;" *Yesôd ʿÔlam*, Berlin, 1777, f. 6b, *Maʿaseh Ḥôshêb* p. 3; the *Thesaurus* of Ben Jehuda does not mention it. Comp. also the author quoted in *MGWJ*, vol. 50, (1906) חשבורת כל מרובע הוא במנות ארכו ברחבו.

[30] See *Sefer ha-Mispar*, ed. Silberberg, Frankfurt, a. M. 1895, and *Sefer he-Eḥad*, ed. Pinsker, Odessa, 1867; *Yesôd Mispar*, ed. Pinsker; *Yesôd ʿÔlam*, Berlin 1777, p. 6b. *Kafal* only also in the *Liḳḳûṭîm* of Gersonides' writings, (*c.* 1300) ed. by Carlebach in *Festschrift Carlebach*, Berlin 1910, pp. 178 and 168–174. Even Simon Motot (*c.* 1450) uses only *kafal*. The term *hikkah* occurs only once in his book; see Sacerdote in *REJ.*, XVIII (1894) pp. 233–234.

[31] Quoted by Steinschneider, *Ibn Ezra*, p. 106, note 179, and p. 110; (*Gesammelte Schriften*, pp. 470, 474).

Since that time *hikkah* comes to be the main term of multiplication with the growing influence of the Arabic language and culture.[32] The term *kafal*, however, was never entirely discarded and always maintained its place at the side of *hikkah*. In the modern Hebrew literature *kafal* is the only term used for multiplication.[33]

In addition to these terms we occasionally find the term *'arak*, "to set up a proportion," for multiplication. This term is used by Ibn Ezra[34] and Gersonides[35] and was apparently created in accordance with the practice of defining multiplication as a proportion in which the fourth member is sought,[36] while the term *manah* "to count" is more in accordance with Euclid's definition adopted by al-Khowârizmî and Savasorda. Ibn Ezra in his *Sefer ha-Mispar*, however, gives no definition of multiplication at all, and Gersonides defines multiplication once as al-Khowârizmî[37] does, and another time as an addition of equal addents.[38]

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[32] Gersonides (*c.* 1300), known also as Leo de Balneolis, in his arithmetic, *Ma'aseh Ḥôshêb*, ed. Lange, Frankfurt a. M., 1909; Mordecai Finzi, (*c.* 1470), quoted by Steinschneider in *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, p. 586 and by Sacerdote in *Festschrift Steinschneider*, p. 177; Eliyyah Mizraḥî (*c.* 1500) in his arithmetic; see also *Sefer ha-Gedarîm* (Dictionary of technical terms) by Abraham Bonafus, Berlin 1798, p. 55a, and more instances in the *Thesaurus* of Ben Yehuda, p. 1083 under *Haka'ah*. It is still used by S. Pinsker in his commentary to the *Sefer ha-Eḥad*, Odessa 1867. Nesselmann knew already that *hikkah* is the translation of *ḍaraba*, but he thinks that only "ungenaue Schriftsteller" use *kafal* for multiplication; see his *Algebra der Griechen*, pp. 495–496.

[33] Cf. The *Hebrew Algebras* written by Rosenstein, Jaffa 1920, and by Kapitas, Kowno 1923, for the use of the Hebrew schools in Palestine and Lithuania.

[34] In his *Yesôd Mispar*, ed. by S. Pinsker as an appendix to his *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktations-system*, Wien 1863, pp. 171–172; see also notes 216, 225 *ib.*

[35] Often in his *Ma'aseh Ḥôshêb*; hence also *ne'erak* as product. *Ma'areket* as product is also found in the commentary of Rabbi Shabbathai to *Sefer ha-Shêm*, quoted by Pinsker, *Sefer ha-Eḥad*, p. 23, note 37.

[36] See Smith, *History*, II, 103, and above p. 248 note 7.

[37] *Ma'aseh Ḥôshêb*, p. 3, "The product which results from the multiplication of two numbers contains each number as many times as there are units in the other."

[38] See *Loc. cit.* p. 55; and Smith, *History*, II, p. 101, note 1.

The *Introduction au calcul Gobârî et Hawâî* (ed. Woepcke, p. 7), and Bahâ al-Dîn[39] (*c.* 1600) occasionally also use *bassaṭa* "to make a surface" to mean "to multiply." In accordance with this usage we find in the Hebrew sources the product called *sheṭaḥ*, "plane, surface,"[40] and a "plane number."[41]

Concerning the two factors Tropfke[42] relates that "in classic Latin they are never distinguished as *multiplicator* and *multiplicandus*. The form *multiplicator* first occurs *c.* 400 and in Boetius (*c.* 500). *Multiplicandus* is first used by Radulf of Laon (d. 1131).[43] Sacrobosco (*c.* 1250), however, chose to contrast *multiplicans* with *multiplicandus*.[44] In Hebrew sources the two factors are called *makkeh* ("the striker") and *mukkeh* ("the stricken one") by Gersonides and Eliyyah Mizraḥî.[45] But we do not find this distinction in the Arabic literature. Al-Khowârizmî has no special names for the factors; he calls them *al-'a'dâd* "the numbers." Bahâ al Dîn calls both factors *maḍrûbayn* ("the two stricken ones") but he calls the product *maḍrûb*.[46] Al-Karkhî (*c.* 1010), and the author of *The Introduction au calcul Gobârî et Hawâî*, ed. Woepcke, p. 9, however,[47] and al-Qalaṣâdî[48] (*c.*1475) call the multiplicand *maḍrûb* and the multiplicator *maḍrûb fîhî* "(the number) by which it is stricken."[49] But the writer has not encountered an Arabic form *ḍârib* ("the striker") like the Hebrew *makkeh* for the multiplier.

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[39] *Kholâṣat al Ḥisâb*, ed. Nesselmann, Berlin 1843.

[40] This is the principal term in Gersonides' arithmetic.

[41] *'Adad murabba' in Iḥwân al-Ṣafâ*, ed. Bombay, I pp. 37–38. *Mispar shaṭû'aḥ* in Savasorda's *Ḥibbûr ha Meshîḥah*, p. 11, §22; *mispar mushṭaḥ* in Israeli's *Yesôd 'Ôlam*, f. 6b, 7a. This is the *arithmos epipedos* of Euclid, *Elementa*, Liber VII, definition 17.

[42] *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 77–78; see also Smith, *History*, II, p. 104 seq.

[43] It is also found in Robert of Chester's *Liber Algebrae*, p. 5.

[44] In Greek, however, we find the forms πολλαπλασιάσας = *multiplicans* and πολλαπλασιαζόμενος, πολλαπλασιασδείς = *multiplicatus*; see Euclid, *Elementa*, Liber VII, definitions 15–17; Liber IX in the beginning; and §V for πολλαπλασιασδείς. Nicomachus of Gerasa uses πολλυπλασίασις "a multiplication" (operation) (II, 17.7) and πολυπλασιασμός "multiplication" (product of multiplication) (I, 10.10) see the English translation of his *Introduction to Arithmetic* by D'Ooge, Robbins and Karpinski, p. 304.

[45] In their arithmetics. These terms are also recorded by Bonafus, *Sefer ha-Gedarîm*, Berlin 1798, p. 55a.

[46] See ed. Nesselman, p. 8 seq. As a term for the factors it is *multiplicandus* ("the number to be stricken") while as a term for the product it corresponds to the passive participle *multiplicatus*. See the writer's article "The Term Root," in the *American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 35, p. 68, note 8.

In this connection may also be recorded a few other terms. The product is called in Arabic *mâ ijtamaʿa* ("the sum") and *mablagh* or *mâ balagha* ("the reached, attained, sum, amount, result"),[50] and *al-ḥâsil* ("what finally remains, results").[51] In Hebrew Savasorda uses *ha-mispar ha-nikbaṣ* ("the sum")[52] and Ibn Ezra employs *ha-meḥubbar*, *ha-ʿôleh*, *ha-yôṣe* ("the sum, result—".[53] Their parallels are the German terms *Das Kommende*, *Entspringende*.[54] For the word "times" as in "3 times 3" there is an old biblical term *moneh* ("counted number, time")[55] and a later term *kefalîm* from the Arabic *'aḍʿâf*.[56]

V. THE ORIGIN OF ḌARABA. WOEPCKE AND IBN EZRA EXPLANATION OF CUṬṬACA, DIḲDŪḲ, PILPŪL AND ṢARAF

There still remains the question as to the origin and reason of the rather strange term for multiplication, *ḍaraba* (*hikkah*, "to strike"). Woepcke[57] ascribes it to the influence of the Hindu term *cuṭṭaca*, meaning a "pulverizer," or a grinding, pulverizing multiplier. This term, however, was used for algebraic computations in general and also for a special algebraic process.[58] Al-Bîrûnî (*c.* 1030), the foremost Arabic scholar on Sanscrit and Hindu antiquities, gives a very plausible explanation of *cuṭṭaca* without referring to *ḍaraba*. In his India[59] we read: "19. On *Kuṭṭaka*, i. e. the pounding of a thing. The pounding of oil producing substances is here compared with the most minute and detailed research. This chapter treats of algebra and related subjects." The same association of ideas is to be found in the Hebrew form *diḳdûḳ*. It means "pulverizing," or "pounding of oil-producing substances," and is used as a term for the science of grammar with its minute research. *Diḳdûḳ ḥaberîm*, "the pounding of the fellow-scholars" and *pilpûl* "the grinding of pepper, pulverizing" is used for the "fine, hairsplitting" dialectic discussions on Talmudic law.

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[47] *Fakhrî*, ed. Woepcke, p. 51.

[48] P. 6.

[49] Woepcke in his translation of al-Qalaṣâdî renders *maḍrûb* with multiplicator and *madrûb fîhî* with multiplicand in contradiction to his own correct translation in *al-Fakhrî*, p. 51.

[50] See al-Khowârizmî, *Algebra*, pp. 3, 6, 7, 9, 14, 19, 21, 48; *al-Fakhri*, ed. Woepcke, p. 51, note *in fine*; al-Khayyâmî, *Algebra*, p. 14.

[51] Baḥâ al Dîn, ed. Nesselmann, p. 8.

[52] *Ḥibbûr ha-Meshîḥah*, p. 11, §§22–24; pp. 23, 43.

[53] Often in his *Sefer ha-Mispar*.

[54] See Tropfke, *loc. cit.* I, 1st ed. p. 45.

[55] Genesis 31.7, 4, עשרת מנים; *Mishnat ha-Middot* I, §6 ט' מונים, ד' מונים.

[56] See *Emûnah Ramah* (by Ibn David) p. 4, line 2; *Likkûṭîm mikitbê ha-Ralbag*, in "*Festsschrift Carlebach*," p. 170 seq.; Mizraḥî's *Arithmetic*, f. 3b.; einschneider, *Ibn Ezra*, p. 106 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, p. 470).

[57] *Mêmoire sur la propagation des chiffres Indiennes*, Paris, 1863, p. 68, note.

In the Arabic sources the writer has found no attempt to explain this unusual term, but he encountered an interesting explanation, where one would expect it the least, namely in Ibn Ezra's commentary to the Scriptures. Hosea 14.6, reads: "And he (Israel) shall *strike*[60] *his roots* as Lebanon." Numbers 34.11 reads: "And (the border) shall *strike*[61] the shoulder side of the sea Kinnereth." Ibn Ezra in his commentary to Hosea says:[62] " 'And he shall *strike his roots*,' in length and breadth; like 'and (the border) shall strike the shoulder of the sea Kinnereth.' In geometry the word 'fractions' is used." There is no sense in these words at first glance. But it is Ibn Ezra's wont to mystify his readers by hidden and dark allusions. He was the first to introduce the term *shoresh* "root" for the first power in Hebrew literature,[63] and, although he never employed the term *hikkah* "to strike," he certainly was well acquainted with the term

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[58] See H. T. Colebrooke, *Algebra . . . from the Sanscrit*, London, 1817, pp. 112, 113 seq., and 325 seq. Smith *History*, I, p. 158.

[59] Ed. Sachau, Arabic text, p. 74, lines 8–10; English text, I, p. 155. See also the writer's article on "Terms relating to Area" in the *American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 34, p. 83, seq. and Cantor, I, 4th ed., pp. 628, 634, 685, note 2.

[60] In the English version, 14.5, it is paraphrased by "cast forth."

[61] English version: "reach."

[62] ויך שרשיו, באורך וברוחב, כדרך ומחה אל כתף ים כנרת. ובמידות שברים ותבריתא.

[63] See the writer's articles "On the term Root" in the *American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 33, p. 262, and vol. 35, p. 71, note 2.

ḍaraba. Finding the phrase "to strike the root" in the Bible he was at once reminded of the peculiar phrase *ḍaraba al judhûr* "to strike the roots," which is so common in the Arabic algebra for the multiplication of the first powers, and could not resist the temptation to comment upon it. So it came that his note upon this verse is rather a commentary on al-Khowârizmî's algebra than one on the prophet Hosea. His commentary contains two ideas. First, he says—or better hints—that to strike the roots means to strike the two sides or borders of the rectangle, the length and breadth. He justly reminds us that to extend a border or side till it reaches another side is called in Biblical language "to strike," referring to the verse in Numbers "and the border shall strike the shoulder of the sea Kinnereth." Secondly, he thinks that the Hebrew-Aramaic term *shebarîm-tebaryata* ("fractions") for the area, and the Arabic term *ḍaraba* explain each other. The result of striking the two sides against each other is "fractions" or the area. This is also the underlying idea of his still more enigmatic commentary to Numbers 34.11.[64]

This combination of Bible exegesis and mathematics in which Ibn Ezra more than once indulged is interesting and worth noting.[65] Yet the writer still adheres to his own explanation of the term *shebarîm* for the area,[66] and now desires to submit another explanation for the origin of *ḍaraba*.

The oldest Hebrew geometry, the *Mishnat ha-Middot*, (*c*. 150 C.E.)[67] exclusively uses the term *ṣaraf* or *ṣeraf* for multiplication.[68] The stem *ṣaraf*, however, cannot have here the usual meaning "to smelt, refine," because the phrase "to smelt length into breadth" certainly does not agree with the geometric procedure of getting the area by drawing lines from length to length and breadth to breadth. But there seems to be another root of the stem *ṣaraf*, meaning "to twist, plait, weave," of which the noun alone is preserved in the form *ṣerîf*, *ṣerîfâ* ("a hut or tent of twisted or plaited reeds and willows, wicker-work, basket work").[69] This meaning perfectly agrees with the idea of obtaining the area which consisted in drawing as many lines from length-side to length-side and from breadth-side to breadth-side as their respective numbers indicate. The area is thus broken into small, square compartments or fractions, and resembles the plaiting of rushes or twisting of basket work.[70] Therefore the term *ṣaraf* was used originally to mean "to plait, weave, twist" length into breadth and afterwards "to multiply one number 'into' another."[71]

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[64] ומחא, כאשר אמרו קדמונינו תבירתא, מגזרת ימחאו כף.

[65] It is certainly more stimulating and instructive than the unfortunate undertaking of our contemporary Dr. Granville in his book *The Fourth Dimension and the Bible* justly censured by D. E. Smith in the *American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 34, p. 152 seq.

[66] In *The American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 34, p. 83 seq.

[67] The writer has already had occasion to refer to this ancient treatise in *The American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 33, p. 263, note 5; vol. 34, p. 81, note 3, and to give his view concerning its time. The following article will furnish the evidence, that the *Mishnat ha-Middot* was written about 150 by Rabbi Neḥemiah, the famous teacher of the Mishnah.

[68] *Meṣarêf ha-ôrek be-tôk ha-rôḥab* ("to multiply length into breadth") II, §§1–8; III, §§2–4; IV, §§1, 4–10; V, §§1–6 and also *'al ha-rôḥab* ("upon the breadth").

Now the Arabic *ḍaraba* can be explained in two ways. It is either a literal imitation of *ṣaraf*[72] or else it may come from a Syriac translation of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*. Most of the Arabic translations from the Greek came through the medium of the Syriac, and so the Arabs might have also learned the *Mishnat ha-Middot* from a Syriac version. This version used *maḥâ* for *ṣaraf*. But the Syriac *maḥâ* has two meanings: "to weave" and "to strike, or hit,"[73] and the Arabs chose to translate it by *ḍaraba*, which corresponds to the second meaning.

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[69] The Hebrew dictionaries of Jastrow (p. 1302) and Levy (III, p. 222) have: "A hut of reeds, a cot of bulrushes," "Geflochtenes, Binsengeflecht, ein aus Rohr und Weiden geflochtenes Zelt." Cf. also Krauss, *Archäologie des Talmud*, I, p. 275, notes 70, 71; קדמוניות התלמוד, p. 236.

[70] See *The American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 34, p. 85 seq.

[71] Compare also the Hebrew *masseket* "a texture, weaving," the Latin *textus*, for a composed book or writing, and see the end of this paper.

[72] The Arabic *ḍâd* corresponds to the Hebrew *ṣâd*, and the *b* and *f* interchange as labials.

[73] See the Talmudic dictionary of Levy, III, p. 73; *maḥâ, meḥê*, "spinnen weben; eigentlich wohl die Faden über einander schlagen, oder mit dem Webeschiffchen anschlagen." Compare also the German "Einschlag, i. e. die Faden, welche in den Aufzug des Webestuhles eigeschlagen werden." The word מחא=מחץ comes from the Akkadian *maḫāṣu*, "to strike, to weave", *māḫiṣu*, "weaver"; see Zimmern H., *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, pp. 27-28.

This geometric origin of multiplication might also be found in the Greek term ἐπί indicating the process of multiplication.[74] However, it does not mean "by" or "into" as Heath thinks, but "upon," and has its parallel in the Hebrew *ammah ʿal ammah* "a cubit upon a cubit" which is usual in Mishnah and Talmud[75] for the square measure. It is also used by al-Khowârizmî,[76] Savasorda and his Latin translator.[77] This Hebrew usage most probably goes back to an old Babylonian or Egyptian source which was also the origin of the Greek ἐπί.

VI. CONCLUSION. TWO KINDS OF MULTIPLICATION

In summing up the discussion, the writer wishes to emphasize that in fact there are two different kinds of multiplication. The one is the *arithmetic multiplication* which is nothing else than "a folding together of many equal addends" or a repeated addition of abstract numbers. This procedure was given expression by the Greek-Latin terms *πολυπλασιάζειν-multiplicare.* The other one might be called the *geometric multiplication.* This is the very complicated process of multiplying concrete numbers or geometric magnitudes and getting higher algebraic powers, the process of multiplying lines and getting areas or bodies. This process has nothing to do with addition, but it is the basic operation of algebra and geometry. That is the reason why the old algebras do not begin with addition and subtraction but with multiplication and division.[78] This geometric procedure was interpreted by the Hebrew term *ṣaraf* which probably goes back to old sources of Babylonian or Egyptian mathematics, representing the multiplication as a process of plaiting of rushes or weaving.

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[74] See Heath, *Greek Mathematics*, I, p. 57; "The multiplicand is written first, and below it is placed the multiplier preceded by ἐπί ("by" or "into").

[75] See ʿErubîn, II, 5; Kil'ayyîm, III, 1; Middot, III, 1; IV, 6; *ʿal* also used for numbers in *Mishnat ha-Middot*, I, §§6–9; II, §1; III, §§2, 3; IV, §9; and in the *Sillûḳ* of the Payyetan Elʿazar ha-kalîr (*c.* 700? or 800?) to *Shabbat sheḳalîm.* The Bible seems to use *be*, instead of *ʿal*; see Exodus, 27.18 חמשים בחמשים; Ezekiel 43.16, 17, שתים עשרה ארך בשתים עשרה רחב.

[76] *Algebra*, Arabic text, p. 50, lines 11–12. See also *The American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 34, p. 80. But instead of "one cubit *in* one cubit" used there it would be better to say "one cubit *upon* one cubit."

[77] *Liber Embadorum*, p. 162, lines 12–14; *ulnae super ulnas.*

[78] Compare the arrangement in al-Khowârizmî's *Algebra*, p. 15, seq., in al-Karkhî's *al-Fakhrî*, ed. Woepcke, in the encyclopedia of Savasorda, in the arithmetic of Ibn Ezra and in the *Liber Abaci* of Leonardo Fibonacci; see Ibn

A very remarkable coincidence and corroboration of this theory is to be found in the fact that the earliest form of geometric ornament on Egyptian pottery was "the plaiting of rushes, the first step in the textile art." This geometric ornament "became in due time a favorite one among nearly all early peoples." Professor David Eugene Smith comments upon that as follows:[79] "This may have been because the plaiting of rushes furnishes an easy medium for the representation of geometric forms . . . It is not merely the instinct of symmetry that we find in these petrified thoughts of the race; it is quite as much a desire to fathom the mystery and grasp the meaning of the beauty of geometric form . . . Art was preparing the way for geometry." The next step in this desire "to fathom the mystery and grasp the meaning of the geometric form" we might see in the groping attempts, in the effort and struggle of the human mind to find the proper words and terms for the mathematical ideas and forms.

Ezra, *Sefer ha-Mispar*, Preface p. V; Steinschneider, *Ibn Ezra*, p. 107 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, p. 471, 395), *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, p. 586. Compare also Poole, R. L., *The Exchequer in the 12th Century*, pp. 46, 51, 57: "Most of the early abacists dealt mainly with multiplication, division and fractions, omitting addition and subtraction." In Fr. Dieterici, *Die Propaedeutik der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1865, p. 15, we read: "Den Grundpfeiler der Rechnung bildet die Kenntnis der Multiplication."

[79] *History of Mathematics*, I, pp. 15–16.

2. THE MISHNAT HA-MIDDOT OR THE FIRST HEBREW GEOMETRY WRITTEN ABOUT 150 C.E., PROLEGOMENA TO A NEW EDITION

A. EDITIONS:

1. Moritz Steinschneider, *Mishnat ha-Middot, die erste Geometrische Schrift in Hebräischer Sprache*, Berlin 1864. Published as a supplement to the *Hebräische Bibliographie*, 1864. Hebrew text and German introduction; VI + 10 pp.
2. Herman Schapira, *Mishnat ha-Middot*, Leipzig, 1880. Published as a supplement to "Historisch-Literarische Abtheilung" der *Zeitscheift für Mathematik und Physik*, 1880. Hebrew text with notes; Arabic text of the geometry of Al-Khowârizmî, German introduction and translation with notes; 54 pp.

B. MANUSCRIPTS:

1. "Cod. Hebr. 36" of the Munich Library. Described by Steinschneider in his *Catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in Munich*, 2nd ed., p. 19ff; see also *Hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. 5, No. 28, pp. 107, 109. This MS. is the basis of the two editions by Steinschneider and Schapira.
2. "MS. Heb. c. 18" of the Bodleian Library. Described in Neubauer-Cowley, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, II, Oxford 1906, p. 31, No. 2634, 10.[1] The writer availed himself of a copy made by Mr. Last for Professor A. Marx. The fragment is on vellum 8 in Syr. Rabb. characters.

C. QUOTATIONS:[2]

1. *Rashi* to Ex. 26.5.
2. *Rashi* to Ex. 27.5.
3. *Rashi* to I Kings 7.16.

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[1] Description is due to Neubauer. This part of the catalogue was already printed before Cowley began his works; see the preface of Cowley.—On this fragment see also Steinschneider in the name of Prof. Marx, in *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, L, (1906), p. 483.

[2] Quotations are given in extenso by Steinschneider, ed. of *Mishnat ha-Middot*, p. 6; Grünhut, *Liḳḳûṭim*, II, pp. 5–9; Friedman, ed. of *Baraita de Meleket ha Mishkan*, pp. 87–89.

4. *Rashi* to I Kings 7.18.
5. *Rashi* to I Kings 7.28.
6. *Rashi* to Psalm 78.16.
7. *Rashi* to Babli Sukkah 8a: מכדי כמה מרובע יתר על העגול רביע, also in Tosafot B. B. 27a and *Asheri* ib., quoted by Shiṭṭah Meḳubbeṣet, ib.
8. *Pseudo-Rashi* to Ta‘anit 26a, על כל משמר ומשמר
9. *Pseudo-Rashi* to Bereshit Rabba, LXXXIII, בא נבוכדנצר וביטל של אלו ושל אלו
10. *Yalḳuṭ* to Genesis 61, ויהיו בני נח זש"ה יצב גבולות עמים
11. Ibn Ezra, *Yesōd Mōrā*, at the beginning, אם לא ידע חכמת המדות לא ידע ראיות המדות בעירובין וגם מ"ט מדות של ר' נתן.
12. Mordekay Comtino (c. 1480) in his manuscript *commentary to Yesōd Mōrā*, loc. cit.; see preceding number. This commentary is not yet edited; I found this quotation in the MS. existing in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, folio 12b. The MS is a copy of the original Parma MS., made by S. G. Stern for Halberstam.
13. Shabbatai ben Malkiel in his manuscript *commentary to Sepher ha-Schēm* by Ibn Ezra. Quoted by Carmoly and Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, V, 457 and VIII, 63.
14. Rabbi Joseph Ḳara, a contemporary of Rashi, in his *commentary* to I Kings, 7.16, 28, and to Ecclesiastes 7.25. שנינו במשנת ארבעים ותשע מדות; ראיתי במשנת ארבעים ותשע מדות; וסבותי את ליבי לבקש חכמת העולם וחשבון של חכמה בחשבונות (recte: כחשבונות) הכתובים בברייתא של ארבעים ותשע מדות. See A. Epstein, in *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1886, p. 33; 1887, p. 10; *ha-Ḥōkēr*, I (1891–92), p. 35; L. Dukes in *Der Orient*, Litteraturblatt, 1847, p. 345.

D. LITERATURE:

1. Rabbi Abraham ben Eliyyah Gaon of Wilna (d. 1808).
   a. *Rab Po‘alim*, Warsaw, 1894, pp. 86–87.
   b. *Midrash Agadat Bereshit*, Wilna 1802, in the introduction. This edition was reprinted and the critical introduction plagiarized by Jacob ben Naphtali Herz in a new edition, Zolkiev, 1804. Zunz, not knowing the real author, gave credit for the preface to the plagiarist; see

Gottesdienstliche Vorträge, p. 91, note d.; see also Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. 4 (1847), p. 25; Benjacob, *Ōṣar ha-Sepharim*, p. 299; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, 106; II 518.

2. Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, Berlin 1832, p. 91ff.
3. S. L. Rapaport, quoted by Zunz, ib., p. 92, note 6, as his authority. Also in *Kerem Ḥemed*, vol. VI., pp. 98, 113 seq.
4. Elyakim ben Yehudah Milzahagi, or Getzel of Brody; see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, p. 106, *Sepher Rabiah*. Ofen 1837, pp. 4d – 7a (A refutation of Zunz's opinion concerning the authorship of Rabbi Nathan).
5. Abraham Geiger, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, IV, (1847) p. 25; V, pp. 456–457; VI, p. 28; *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, II (1863) p. 69.
6. E. Carmoly, *Maḥberet Eldad ha-Danī*, Paris 1838; *Mo‘eṣōt we-Da‘at*. I did not see these books, but they are quoted by Rapaport and Geiger, loc. cit.
7. Z. Frankel, *MGWJ* 1857, p. 519, *Darkē ha-Mishnah*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 190.
8. *Der Orient, Literaturblatt*, I, p. 158, and 1847, p. 345.
9. Moritz Steinschneider, Edition of *Mishnat ha-Middot*, Berlin 1864; Introduction; *Hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. 5, No. 28, pp. 107, 109. *Catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in Munich* 2nd ed., p. 20; *Catalogue of the Hebrew books of the Bodleian Library*, p. 2032 seq.; *Jewish Literature*, pp. 35 (§5), 277; in Eneström's *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1893, pp. 38 sqq. and 43; *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, p. 501.
10. Adolf Berliner, *MGWJ* 1868, p. 428 seq; *Raschi*, 2nd ed. Frankfurt, A. M. 1905, p. 429.
11. Hermann Schapira, Edition of *Mishnat ha-Middot*, Leipzig 1880, Introduction, p. VII.
12. Solomon Schechter, *Abot ḍe R. Natan*, Wien, 1887, Introducton, p. VII.
13. Chaim M. Horowitz, *Tosfata ‘Atikata*, Mainz, 1889 (or Frankfurt A. M. 1890), pp. 7–11.
14. W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Strassburg, 1890, II, p. 439.
15. Solomon Buber, *Yeri‘ot Shelomoh*, Warsaw 1890, pp. 22–23.

16. L. Grünhut, *Sepher ha-Likkūṭīm*, II, Jerusalem, 1898. Introduction, pp. 3–13; text, ff. 1–12a. This is the text of the Yalḳūṭ, Genesis, §61, Exodus, §§418–427, which are according to Grünhut's theory excerpts from the *Mishnah of Forty Nine Middot*, and besides that some of the quotations made by Rashi.
17. M. Friedmann, *Baraita de Meleket ha-Mishkan*, Wien, 1908, pp. 86–98. As an appendix he gives the text of the Yalḳūṭ Exodus, §§417–427 with an introduction on the *Mishnat ha-Middot*, where the other quotations are cited.
18. Louis Ginzberg, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, pp. 517 sq. A clear presentation of the problem.

I. Discovery. Zunz and Steinschneider

Zunz[3] was the first to call the attention of the scholarly world to the existence of an old Tannaitic treatise known from quotations only by the name of a Mishnah, Midrash, or Baraita, of forty-nine Middot. In the year 1862, Moritz Steinschneider discovered the text of an old Hebrew geometry, called *Mishnat ha-Middot* in the MS. 36 of the Munich Library and published it in honor of the seventieth birthday of Leopold Zunz, on the 10th of August, 1864.

The first edition of the oldest Hebrew Geometry is thus connected with the names of the two outstanding masters of Jewish science, Zunz and Steinschneider. Zunz, called the father of Jewish Science, introduced the methods of modern science into the history of the Jews, their literature and their culture. Steinschneider was the first to cultivate the history of secular sciences among the Jews, to show the contributions of the Jews to the development of science and culture among civilized humanity.

II. Content

The *Mishnat ha-Middot* is a small treatise containing forty-two paragraphs in five chapters, dealing with definitions, terms and

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[3] *Die gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 91 sq. It is true that the priority belongs to Abraham the son of the Gaon of Wilna; see the list on literature, No. 1. But his *Rab Po'alīm* was not published till 1894, and his edition of the *Midrash Agadat Bereshīt* was not noticed by the scholars.

rules of plane and solid geometry from a practical point of view, i. e., without proofs and demonstrations. Chapter 1, in nine paragraphs, deals with the terms of the quadrangle, triangle, circle and arc, and with the definition of the area in general. Chapter 2, in 12 paragraphs, deals with the area of rectangle, triangle, circle and segment, and with the bulk of some regular solids like prism, cylinder, pyramid, cone and their frusta. Chapter 3 treats of the various forms of the quadrangle in 5 paragraphs. Chapter 4 treats of the triangle in 10 paragraphs, and chapter 5 treats of the sphere, circle and segments in 6 paragraphs.

III. History

The existence of the *Mishnat ha-Middot* was known long before its discovery and publication by Steinschneider, as mentioned above, but there was no certain knowledge of its content, time and authorship, and many literary controversies arose about it. The old authorities, like Rashi, Yalḳūṭ, Ibn Ezra, Tosafot and Asheri, quote a book under the name of Mishnat, Baraita or Midrash of forty-nine Middot. These quotations, however, deal mostly with the measures of the tabernacle, and homiletic commentaries to the Bible as they are found in the Midrashim. Zunz and Rapaport therefore, thought the Mishnat ha-Middot to be a premishnaic book dealing with Halakah, Agadah and also scientific matter arranged according to numbers and having Rabbi Natan as author. This opinion was fought by the learned, but unreliable E. Carmoly. Carmoly found quotations of the *Mishnat ha-Middot* in two manuscripts, one a commentary of Comtino to the *Yesōd Mōrā* of Ibn Ezra, and the other one a commentary of Shabbatai ben Malkiel to the *Sepher ha-Shēm* of Ibn Ezra which revealed the pure geometric nature of this treatise. Moreover, Comtino expressly stated that the forty nine Middot of Rabbi Natan are based upon the science of Mensuration and Geometry.

Abraham Geiger[4] fixed the time of the book as post-talmudic and prearabic; this means, he put it in the time of the first Geonim, about 700–800 C. E. Steinschneider and the author of the second edition, Herman Schapira, differ considerably about the time. While Steinschneider[5] thinks to find in the *Mishnat ha-Middot* Arabic influence and, therefore, dates it in the earliest time of the Arabic Period (about 800–1000 C. E.). Schapira[6] holds that it most probably belongs in the time of the Mishnah (200 C. E.), or, at any rate, precedes the Arabic Period. Later on, the scholars Berliner, Grünhut, Buber, Horowitz and Friedman[7] were more concerned with those quotations of a midrashic nature which were not found in the manuscript edited by Steinschneider and showed their connection with the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan* and the *Yalķūţ* to Exodus, §§419–427.

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[4] *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, V, p. 457.

IV. The Problem.

The problem before us is very puzzling:

1. *Two Different Types*

There are two different kinds of the *Mishnat ha-Middot* according to the different quotations. The older authorities, like Yalķūţ and Rashi, quote passages concerning construction and measures of the tabernacle and also of agadic nature fitting into an old Midrash or Baraita. The later authorities, Comtino and Shabbatai ben Malkiel, quote two passages fitting into a purely geometric book. The manuscript discovered by Steinschneider bears the name *Mishnat ha-Middot*; the colophon also expressly states: "Here ends the chapter and with it the *Mishnat ha-Middot*."[8] Yet it is of a purely geometric character. It contains and *verifies* the quotations of Comtino (I, 1) and Shabbathai ben Malkiel (V, 3), but none of the other quotations of Rashi, Yalķūţ, and Tosafot. On the other hand many of the quotations of Rashi were found in the *Baraita de Meleket ha-Mishkan* and in the excerpts of Yalķūţ, Exodus, §§ 419–427, supposed to be a different version of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*, or to have their origin also in the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan.*[9] Thus there seem to be two types or versions of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*, a geometric one and a midrashic one identical with or similar to the *Baraita di-Meleket ha-Mishkan.*

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[5] In the introduction to his edition; *Hebräische Übersetzungen* 501; *Bibliotheca Mathematica*. 1893, pp. 38 seqq.

[6] Introduction to his edition.

[7] See list on literature.

[8] See Schapira edition, p. 46, note.

2. *Forty nine or forty two paragraphs*

All the old authorities agree in calling it the *Mishnah of Forty Nine Middot*, or *Baraita of Forty Nine Middot.* Yet the discovered manuscript consists only of forty-two paragraphs. It seems, therefore, to be only a fragment and the statement of the colophon that the *Mishnat ha-Middot* ends with the 5th chapter seems to be wrong.

3. *Style of the Mishnah*

Vocabulary, diction and terminology of the *Mishnat ha-Middot* betray the genuine style and character of the Mishnah[10] (100–200 C. E.) A literary product of this time, however, with a purely general scientific content only, and in the style of the holy canonic Mishnah, would appear as a rather strange phenomenon and contradict all our notions of the character of this time.[11]

4. *Is there Arabic influence or not*

This latter reason together with the fact that a few mathematical terms of the Mishnah correspond to the terms used in the Arabic literature apparently prompted Steinschneider to put the origin of the first Hebrew geometry into the earlier time of the Arabic period, i. e. the time of the reception by the Jews of Arabic science (c. 800–1200), and to characterize it as standing under Arabic influence. The whole bulk of Mishnaic diction and terminology was explained by Steinschneider as an artificial attempt to imitate the style of the Mishnah. This theory was justly criticized by the second editor, the well-known mathematician Hermann Schapira. Schapira demonstrated that the mathematical terminology of the *Mishnat ha-Middot* differs entirely from the terminology of the Hebrew mathematicians of the Arabic Period which does show manifold influences of the Arabic language.[12] Schapira therefore holds that the *Mishnat ha-Middot* at all events precedes the Arabic Period and in all likelihood belongs in the time of the Mishnah.[13]

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[9] See Grünhut, *Likkûtim*, II p. 5, folio 1a, note 4; Friedmann, *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan*, pp. 86–89. A clear discussion of this difficulty is given by Louis Ginzberg, loc. cit.

[10] See Schapira edition, p. 10.

[11] See L. Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, pp. 517 seq.

5. *Relation to the first Arabic geometry*

Schapira was the first to discover the striking similarity between the *Mishnat ha-Middot* and the first Arabic geometry written by Mohammed ibn Musa al-Khowârizmî (*c.* 820).[14] Not being acquainted with the Arabic language, Schapira confined himself to the statement that both the Hebrew and the Arabic geometry seem to go back to a common source of a remote ancient time.[15] However, a close examination and comparison of the texts of the *Mishnat ha-Middot* and al-Khowârizmî's geometry convinces me that al-Khowârizmî, or else his teacher and source, were all acquainted with and influenced by content and terminology of the *Mishnat ha-Middot.* Al-Khowârizmî's geometry shows terms and phrases which seem to be more familiar and congenial to the Hebrew than to the Arabic language.[16] Besides that it can be seen that the Arabic geometry tries to enlarge and improve the old Hebrew geometry by adding new rules and demonstrations to the old practical rules of the Hebrew geometry which contains no demonstrations at all.[17]

6. *Value of π*

The value of π was given by Mishnah and Gemara as 3. This was also in accordance with the Bible.[18] The *Mishnat ha-Middot,* however, gives the value of π as $3\frac{1}{7}$ (V, 3), explains the Bible verse in a way to comply with this rule, but does not refer in a word to the Mishnah which clearly states π to be 3. This procedure would be very strange in a Jewish book written after 200 C. E., at which time the final edition of the Mishnah took place, and the Mishnah was generally adopted and recognized as the holy canonic book yielding in rank only to the Bible.

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[12] Schapira, ib. p. 10 seq.

[13] Ib. p. 11.

[14] Published and translated into English by Frederic Rosen, London 1831.

[15] Ib. p. 11 seq.

[16] For instance: *Misāḥah = meshīḥah* for the area; *amūd* and *'umq = ammūd* and *'omeḳ* for the depth or height. *dhirā' fi dhirā' = ammah 'al ammah. ḍaraba fī = ṣeraf be-* for multiplication.

[17] Al-Khowârizmî gives two more values for π, $\sqrt{10}$ and $\frac{62.832}{20.000}$ (p. 51); a demonstration for the Pythagorean theorem (P 53), and the algebraic method to find the footpoint of the height (p. 60).

[18] See 'Erūbin, I 5, Gemara 14a sq. Bible, I Kings 7.23. See B. Zuckermann, *Das Mathematische im Talmud,* Breslau, 1878, pp. 22 sqq., 30; Smith, *History of Mathematics,* II, p. 302 sq.; see also note 20 infra.

V. The Solution. A New Fragment

A fair solution of the whole problem is made possible by a new fragment of the *Mishnat ha-Middot* discovered and described by Neubauer, in Neubauer-Cowley, *Catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, II, p. 31, No. 2634, 10 (MS. Heb. c. 18). This fragment was copied by Mr. Last for Professor A. Marx who was kind enough to place it at my disposal for which I herewith wish to express my best thanks. The new document consists of two leaves. The first leaf contains the text of chapter I, 6 to II, 10. The second leaf contains the paragraphs 3–6 of the 5th chapter and four paragraphs and the heading of a 5th paragraph of an entirely new sixth chapter which was not known heretofore. The old manuscript edited by Steinschneider ends with the 5th chapter and expressly states this to be the end of the whole book in the colophon, mentioned above. The new fragment has at the end of the 5th chapter the words סליק פרקא פרק ו' which means: "This is the end of the (5th) chapter. (Now begins) the 6th chapter." The four paragraphs of the new chapter throw a new light on the whole problem. This new chapter changes from the geometry to an explanation of the construction and measures of the tabernacle. It has an entirely different character and looks more like a Midrash than like a geometric treatise. A close examination shows it to be a different version of the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan* and some of the quotations made by Rashi from the *Mishnat ha-Middot* are found here as well as in in the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan*.[19] Almost all of the difficulties mentioned above are now cleared up. The old *Mishnat ha-Middot* contained two parts, a Midrash to the chapter of the Bible dealing with the construction of the tabernacle and a short compendium of geometry as a fitting introduction to this Midrash. Since quotations of Rashi in the name of *Mishnat ha-Middot* are found in the Yalḳūṭ and in the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan*, and three out of the four paragraphs of the 6th chapter of the *Mishnat ha-Middot* are also found, partly at least, in this Baraita and in the §§419–427 of the Yalḳūṭ, there can be no doubt, that the *Mishnat ha-Middot* is closely connected with the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan* and Yalḳūṭ §§419–427. Comtino lived in Constantinople in the second half of the 15th century. The manuscript Munich, edited by Steinschneider and containing only the geometric part, was written in the year 1480 in Constantinople. Comtino probably knew only this version current in Constantinople; hence his statement that the *Mishnat ha-Middot* is based upon mensuration and geometry only. There is also a possibility of explaining the number of forty nine Middot. The new fragment has 8 paragraphs in the 5th chapter instead of 6 given by the old manuscript. Of the 6th chapter it brings 4 paragraphs verbatim while the 5th paragraph is still indicated by the letter ה. Thus we have 7 new paragraphs in addition to the 42 of the old manuscript and the number 49 is completed. However, I would not urge this point. It would be entirely out of proportion that the text of the Midrash should consist of 5 paragraphs and the geometric introduction of 44 paragraphs. I am rather inclined to assume that the title "49 Middot" does not refer to the number of the paragraphs at all, or that it refers to the number of the paragraphs of the Midrashic text and that the original *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan* contained 49 paragraphs, which is the opinion of Ch. M. Horowitz.

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[19] The text is very corrupt, but clear enough to find the striking similarity to the texts of *Meleket ha-Mishkan* and Yalḳūṭ. These latter sources help establish an intelligible text in the fragment.

As an old Mishna it naturally precedes the Arabic Period and there is no wonder that al-Khowârizmî or his source knew and used it. It is also quite natural that there was an old Midrash or Mishnah of a different and perhaps of a more scientific school which attempted to assign a more exact value to π and to harmonize it with the Bible. Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nāsi, the final editor of the Mishnah (c. 200) seems to disagree with this old Mishnah or to ignore it, and to adhere to the old traditional and practical value of π.[20]

VI. AUTHORSHIP. R. NEḤEMIAH (*c.* 150 C. E.)

Ibn Ezra in the introduction to his *Yesōd Mōrā* first speaks of the *Forty Nine Middot* of Rabbi Natan. It was on his authority that Zunz names the Babylonian Rabbi Natan as the author of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*. In the quotation of Shabbatai ben Malkiel, however, it is Rabbi Neḥemiah who represents the opinion that the value of π is $3\frac{1}{7}$ and explains the Bible-verse accordingly. Abraham Geiger therefore suggests that the name was originally given by the initials R. N., as usual, and that those initials later on caused the different readings Rabbi Nathan and Rabbi Neḥemiah. Ch. M. Horowitz decides in favor of Rabbi Neḥemiah, his theory being that the *Mishnat ha-Middot* and the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan* are one and the same book, namely, the Tosefta of the Mishnah *Middot*, and Rabbi Neḥemiah generally being recognized as the author or editor of the Tosefta.

The new fragment supports this theory. Neḥemiah is the only name mentioned in this fragment, and it occurs twice; once in V, 3 where it corroborates the quotation of Shabbatai ben Malkiel, and the second time in VI, 2, which is in conformity with the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan*[21] both quoting the same teaching in the name of Rabbi Neḥemiah. As a matter of fact the bulk of this new sixth chapter goes to expand and develop the theory of R. Neḥemiah, expressed in VI, 2 and teaching that the boards of the tabernacle were decreasing in thickness from the bottom to the top. It is evident that R. Neḥemiah tries here to bring his theory in harmony with the other facts and measures related of the tabernacle: § 2 draws the conclusion that the perimeter of the tabernacle was greater at the bottom than at the top; §3 teaches as a consequence that the two boards of the breadth-side, standing on the corners, had to decrease in breadth from 1½ cubits to ½ cubit corresponding to the diminishing thickness of the last boards of the length-side; and §4 explains how the middle bar was sunk into the hollow of the boards at the height of 5 cubits where their thickness was only half a cubit. It is also significant that our fragment on both passages introduces the teacher without the title "Rabbi," only with the words: "Neḥemiah says." This being the customary way in which the authors in ancient times used to introduce their books or special opinions.[22]

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[20] It was usual to give two different values for π, 3 as the "practical" value and $3^1|_7$ or $\sqrt{10}$ or some other value as the "exact" one. Brahmagupta (c. 628) used 3 as the "practical" value and $\sqrt{10}$ as the "exact" value. The Romans were little concerned with accurate results in such matters as this, and so it is not surprising that Vitruvius, the Roman architect and engineer, (c. 20 B. C.) gives π as 3, or also a little more or less than 3; such a value as 3 is to be found not only in the early Chinese and Hindu works, but also in the mediaeval manuscripts, so that it was generally accepted in all countries and until relatively modern times; see Smith, *History of Mathematics*, II, pp. 302 seq., 307, 309, 615; Heath, *Greek Mathematics*, II, p. 302. While Rabbi Yehudah adheres to the old traditional and also Roman school value of 3, the author of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*, introduces the modern and more exact value of $3\frac{1}{7}$ of the Greek Alexandrian school which became recognized since Heron (c. 100 C. E.); see Smith, ib. 307, Heath, ib.—He introduced also two other formulas of Heron. See hereafter at the end.

[21] Chapter I; p. 12 of Friedman's edition. Babli Shab. 98b, relates the same controversy, but with changed roles. In the version of the Babli it is R. Neḥe-

A study of the sayings and teachings of Rabbi Neḥemiah shows him to be the man best qualified for the authorship of such a treatise.[23] He represents the scientific exegesis preferring the plain true meaning of the Bible-verse and fighting the homiletic unnatural interpretations. We owe him the first remarks on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography. His special inclinations

miah who thinks that the boards were regular prisms, while R. Judah believes them to be of decreasing thickness. But it was already stated by M. Friedmann, the learned editor of the *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan*, that the version of the Baraita is "doubtless" the correct one, and this is now fully corroborated by the text of the *Mishnat ha-Middot.*

[22] R. Neḥemiah is also frequently quoted in *Baraita de-Meleket ha-Mishkan* and in Yalḳūṭ, loc. cit., as author: (1) *Baraita de M. h. M.*, Chapter I, p. 12, Friedman's edition: שר' נחמיה אומר אין ת"ל משולבת, (2) chapter I. ib.: אמר ר' נחמיה עובין של קרשים מלמטה אמה אחת, (3) II, p. 20: חוטן כפול ל"ב דברי ר' נחמיה, (4) III, p. 24 = Yalḳūṭ, §422 (ed. Friedmann, p. 95) וכמין פספסין עשוי מלמעלה דברי ר' נחמיה, (5) IV, p. 27 = Yalḳūṭ ib. שהיה ר' נחמיה אומר כל מקום שנ' מעשה חושב שני פרצופין, (6) Yalḳūṭ, §419, ed. Friedmann, p. 91: היה ר' נחמיה אומר אהל מועד שעשה משה במדבר, (7) Yalḳūṭ, §423, ed. Friedmann, p. 96 ר' נחמיה אומר כל הקרשים מבפנים ומבחוץ היו מצופין זהב.

[23] See about him Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, II, pp. 228 sqq.; A. Hymann, *Toldot Tannaīm ve-Amoraīm*, III, p. 925.

seemed to be for mathematical computations. Thus we find him concerned with the measures of the ark[24] and the tabernacle, with the calendar and the duration of the twilight (dusk). Two of his earlier contemporaries, disciples of the same school of Rabbi Aḳiba,[25] are characterized as great mathematicians, able to compute the drops of the ocean.[26] At about the same time, or one generation before R. Neḥemiah (*c.* 150), we find in Palestine the mathematical school of Nicomachus of Gerssa (*c.* 100), who also wrote an "Introduction to Geometry" (Karpinsky, *Nicomachus*, p. 79). Alexandria, where there was the greatest Jewish community of the world, was at the same time the center of Greek mathematical interests.

VII. Its Importance for the History of Mathematics

Having now established beyond any reasonable doubt, at least in the writer's opinion, the authorship of Rabbi Neḥemiah, the *Mishnat ha-Middot* must be regarded as a very important document for the history of mathematics from about 150 C. E. or from a still earlier time. Rabbi Neḥemiah was in all probability not the author but only the compiler or editor of a geometry which was in common use among the Hebrew land measurers and rope stretchers[27] of Palestine. Where he has something new to say, as for instance in V, 3 and VI, 2,[28] he is very careful to introduce it in his own name and to preserve his literary property.

The writer hopes soon to be able to bring out a new edition of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*[29] which will contain, apart from this present introduction, the following chapters:

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[24] Bereshit Rabbah, XXXI; Grünhut, loc. cit., p. 9, holds that this passage also belongs to *Mishnat ha-Middot.*

[25] R. Eli'ezer Hasma and R. Yoḥanan ben Gudgada; see Horayot 10b.

[26] Archimedes (*c.* 225 B. C.) wrote a book, *The Sand-Reckoner*, *Psammites*, on the computation of the number of sand grains necessary to fill the space of the universe. Archytas, a Greek philosopher and mathematician who lived 428–347 B. C. is praised by Horace as *mensorem maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenae* "The measurer of the sea, the earth, and the innumerable sand;" Carmen, I. 28, quoted by Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, p. 85.

[27] See Cantor, *Geschichte der Mathematik*, I, pp. 63–65, 358–59, 397–638.

[28] See above, p. 273.

[29] The new edition will be published by Dr. George Alexander Kohut in the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation.

1. The Hebrew text of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*, including the sixth chapter of the Bodleian fragment, with English translation and notes.
2. The Arabic text of the geometry of al-Khowârizmî, representing the Arabic version of the *Mishnat ha-Middot*, with English translation and notes.
3. Excursuses on its importance for the history of mathematics in which the following questions will be discussed at length:
    a. The first Hebrew geometry and its character.
    b. The Hebrew land measurers and rope stretchers.
    c. Relations to the Egyptian geometry.
    d. Relations to the Greek geometry.
    e. Relation to Hero Alexandrinus (c. 150 B. C.? or 250 C. E.?) and the Hero-question.
    f. Relations to the Hindu-geometry.
    g. Relations to the Arabic geometry of al-Khowârizmî.
    h. Area and quadrilaterals.
    i. Circle.
    j. Triangle.
    k. Angle-geometry.
    l. The gnomon and perpendicular.
    m. Solid geometry.
    n. Algebra.
    o. Terminology.
    p. What was unknown to the *Mishnat ha-Middot*?

Habent sua fata libelli. The *Mishnat ha-Middot*, the earliest Hebrew document of mathematics, although accessible in a fairly good German translation, made by Hermann Schapira, since 1880, is hardly mentioned by name and almost forgotten by historians of Hebrew literature and still more by historians of mathematics. The writer will feel fully rewarded when this paper and the new edition, which is soon to come out, will help a little to remedy this evil and draw the attention of the scientific world to an ancient and very important document of mathematics and Hebrew literature.

ELIEZER CRESCAS AND HIS BETH ZEBUL
THE BIBLE REFERENCES IN TALMUD AND MIDRASH

By MOSES GASTER, London, England

IN many of the modern editions of the Bible, there appears an index of references in Talmud and Midrash to verses of the Bible. I am not aware that anyone has investigated the origin and antiquity of such references. Thus far the best known book is the Bet Aharon which is an enlarged edition of the original Toledot Aharon, the latter being the work of Aaron of Pesaro, Ed. Prin. Freiburg 1583–4, the former of Abraham ben Samuel Frankfurt a/0 1690–1 which was finally completed and amplified by Abraham David Lovit, Wilna 1880. In this enlarged edition a great number of texts have been utilized, in addition to the Talmudic literature, such as the Zohar and other mystical writings and a number of the recent homiletical compilations. Jellinek, it is true, has drawn up a bibliography of similar compilations called Ḳonteros Hamafteaḥ, Vienna 1881, but it is far too comprehensive, for only a few of the books contained in that list deal exclusively with Biblical references and these are almost without exception of comparatively modern origin. The importance of such references is so great and their utility for the preacher so obvious that one cannot wonder that such a work should have been undertaken. The homilies formed an integral part of the devotional life of the Jews and all of them either rested upon a Biblical verse or drew their inspiration and teaching from the interpretation to which such a text had been subjected in the literature of the Agadah. But before any definite reference could be made the books of the Talmud and Midrash had to be arranged in treatises, chapters and paragraphs in such a manner that the reference should be useful and not confusing. This, at any rate, gives us a certain indication as to the time when such references could profitably have been undertaken.

Curiously enough, most of the books of references mentioned by Jellinek are of Italian origin. In Italy there seems to have been a better trained scientific spirit, for the Renaissance had brought with it greater accuracy and discipline in all matters of scientific investigation. Works written by Italian scholars are distinguished by this spirit. I mention, for instance, a book like Luzzatto's Kaftor Vaferaḥ, Basel 1581, which deals chiefly with legends from Talmud and Midrash accompanied by a commentary also filled with similar matter. The table of contents and the numerous indexes are a model which has not been surpassed by the best modern edition of a Hebrew or even a non-Hebrew book.

Now the example having once been set, we find such cross references also introduced into the latest editions of the Midrash Rabbot or the various editions of the Talmud Jerushalmi, and always as marginal glosses. The question therefore arises, how old can such references be and how rich had they been? The very fact that the Toledot Aharon had to be enlarged to the Bet Aharon shows that many more books had been brought within the compass of reference and that therefore a larger number of works were at the disposal of the later author. If a book of this kind were to recommend itself to the would-be users, the author must endeavour to give as rich a material as available. Those who used such a book would be much more pleased to trace a verse of the Bible through many compilations rather than to be limited to very few. The titles of the books used would thus be an indication of how many of such works were in circulation at the time when that list of references was compiled, and in such wise a book of this kind would be a contribution to the history of Jewish literature. Therein to my mind lies the great import of such compilations and the interest in their history.

Now the work of Aaron of Pesaro appeared in various forms according to the use to which it was to be put. The first edition, which covered the verses of the whole Bible, contained references found in the Babylonian Talmud only, while the Venice edition of 1590 was limited to the verses of the Pentateuch and Five Megillot, though in this case the references were not only given to the Babylonian Talmud but also to such books as the Zohar. the 'Akeda and 'Iḳḳarim, which are of an homiletical character, thus showing quite clearly the purpose for which such indexes were made: they were to be of direct assistance to the preachers and Darshanim who flourished at that time.

In 1627, Abraham di Fonseca published his work ʻEne Abraham, printed in Amsterdam by Daniel de Fonseca at the latter's expense. Here all the Biblical verses have been quoted to which references are found in the Midrash Rabbah and in the Midrashim to the Five Megillot as well as in the commentary Matenot Kehunah. This somewhat voluminous work is very carefully prepared, for the references are given to the pages of the edition of the printed text, while the book covers the whole of the Bible. Curiously enough only a year afterwards there appeared in two parts a similar book called Pene Rabbah; this is an index of the verses of the whole of the Bible to which reference is made in the Midrash Rabbah to the Pentateuch and the Midrashim to the Five Megillot. Ephraim Bueno and Jonah Abrabanel bore the expenses of this publication, which was printed by Menasseh ben Joseph ben Israel. This was just the time when preaching in the synagogue to the Marranos who had recovered their Jewish faith was a regular institution and it may explain the appearance of two works precisely identical in character within the space of a year.

Not long afterwards in 1652 Menasseh ben Israel printed Aaron of Pesaro's index which contained only the references found in the Babylonian Talmud and shortly afterwards in 1657 there appeared the Toledot Yaʻakob ascribed to Jacob Sasportas, printed in the house of Samuel b. Israel Soero.

That all these books were printed within a period of 30 years emphasizes still more strongly the practical necessity which was felt at the time for such publications.

It is obvious, therefore, that such compilations served an immediate purpose. They were note-books and guides for the preacher who carried on the practice long established in Jewry and continued it in the Spanish and Italian communities long after it had died out in the other congregations. No wonder, therefore, that we find such lists of references among these communities. It would in fact be surprising if a practice which had been continued for so many centuries should not have produced similar books long before the time of Aaron of Pesaro or Abraham de Fonseca. The somewhat obscure allusion which Menasseh ben Israel makes to Jacob Sasportas in connection with the Toledot Ya'akob creates the impression that the book might not have been a compilation of Sasportas himself but in all probability one brought by him from the East, although it seems to be the completion of Abraham of Pesaro's work. The latter, as remarked, contains only the references found in the Babylonian Talmud whilst the work of Sasportas contains the references found in the Palestinian Talmud and may, therefore, have been intended to complete the former. But this does not in the slightest degree obviate the probability that similar compilations may have existed in former times: like conditions produce like results.

It now so happens that I have been fortunate enough to acquire at various times and from different sources three manuscripts of one and the same book, called Bet Zebul by a certain Eliezer Crescas, which as far as I have been able to ascertain has remained unknown. I cannot find a trace of it anywhere. These three Mss. are in fact three revised editions of one and the same book, copied from an older original probably at the same time, the fifteenth or sixteenth century; but different hands have afterwards added some further material or have completed indications given by the first author. Unfortunately, not one of the three is absolutely complete, but in one MS. (Codex. No. 665) the introduction has happily been preserved and the whole book is in a perfect condition with the exception of the last page; this, however, can easily be supplied from the second manuscript (Cod. 927) which, though deficient at the beginning is complete at the end and has even some additions to which reference will be made presently. The third MS. (Cod. 928) comprises only about half of the original work.

The introduction which I am here reproducing in full opens up a new view on the origin and antiquity of such lists and books of reference. I say deliberately lists and books, because as can be seen from the introduction, the author specifically mentions the existence of such lists, which, however, seem to have been limited to the contents of separate works, a kind of index of Bible verses appended to a single Midrash or to one or more treatises of the Talmud. These were probably drawn up by the owner of the book for his own immediate use and not intended for circulation. If, e. g., the references were made to the pages of the manuscript in question, a copy of such an index would have been useless to anyone who did not also possess a facsimile of the original to which they referred. In fact, we have in our literature a remnant of such a list.

In the year 1516, there appeared in Constantinople a collection of the agadic portions in the Talmud under the title, Hagadot ha-Talmud. It is no doubt the precursor of the ʻEn Yaʻakob by ben Ḥabib. The work is anonymous, in itself a proof of high antiquity, for the author of such a work would not have kept his name secret; on the contrary he would have been very proud of his achievement. The readings of the Talmudic passages also show high antiquity; they are anterior to all the known prints and the late Rabbinowitz often made use of them in his Diḳduḳe Soferim. The book is extremely rare and is fully described in my *Exempla of the Rabbis*, p. 15. Now this book consists of two parts, one containing the very text of the "Agadot" of the Talmud and the other a list of Biblical verses arranged according to their order in the Bible; while the reference to each verse is given to the passage in the body of the work. In the Bodleian library only the first part is to be found, and this has been entered by Steinschneider in his catalogue as an independent work; he did not recognize that it was merely a Biblical index to the larger compilation which followed. Here we have a complete specimen of such lists as are mentioned by Crescas.

From the introduction in my Ms. we learn further that the habit of making such lists must have been very old, as the author declares that he has consulted such lists, or rather made use of them for his complete work. It might not have been very easy for a single man, especially at that time. to consult so many books, a list of which is given by him and to compile such a huge work as the present.

Now the author, who belonged to a family well known in Jewish literature—a large number of Crescas's are mentioned by Gross in his *Gallia Judaica* with the exception of this name which is thus far unknown—gives us the full details of his life and date. He tells us that he was one who was driven out of France in the second Exile which happened in the year 4055, i. e., 1295. He went to Avignon, at that time a very flourishing community, where he settled down and worked at this book which he called Bet Zebul, a kind of House of Gathering and at the same time a Prodromus to the Temple of Jewish literature. We are thus about three hundred years before Aaron of Pesaro and four hundred years before the time of Sasportas, and at least as many centuries older than many of the books mentioned in Jellinek's list. It is also not impossible that this Bet Zebul may have had some predecessors of a very modest character, limited like the Hagadot ha-Talmud to the whole or some portions of the Talmud or again to some single Midrash. The author then gives us the list of books to which reference is made by him. This list is extremely interesting for what it tells and for what it omits. It shows us that many of the ancient Midrashim were then in the hands of the Jews of Avignon and that many of the Midrashim which have been considered of little consequence and perhaps of later origin were already in their hands. Thus, for example, Otiot de R. Akiba, etc. On the other hand, it is extremely interesting to notice those books which have been omitted; we miss foremost the Yelamdenu, but again, we have here the reference to a book which has since disappeared, the famous Rabba Rabbati.

This book has been discussed by many scholars, lastly by Epstein in his study on the manuscript of Prague, but no definite solution has yet been found for the problem arising from this book which, as is known, has been ascribed to Moses Hadarshan and quoted by Raymundus Martini in his Pugio Fidei. We find in the Bet Zebul this Rabba Rabbati quoted on almost every page, where it is clearly and distinctly differentiated from the Midrash Rabbah. It is quoted by chapters and by the portions of the Pentateuch, and often precedes the references to the Midrash Rabbah, other works being referred to in between. In the list we find the Rabba Rabbati among the books used by the author, but the reference to it is very obscure. After quoting a large number of books, midrashim and smaller treatises of the Talmud, he adds the words, "All these in the Rabba Rabbati;" in all probability, however, this may refer to the few treatises mentioned last in the list; this would solve the problem, for evidently he gives them as being found in the Rabba Rabbati; afterwards when he gives the reference to each verse, whilst quoting the Rabba Rabbati, he also refers to the other books and writings quite independently. On the above explanation it would not be difficult to understand the exact meaning of these words. Surely, he could not have meant that the Rabba Rabbati contained all the works previously quoted except the last few and small treatises which had been introduced in full in the Rabba Rabbati, forming a kind of Yalḳuṭ like the Yalḳuṭ Makhiri and Shimeʻoni, but Crescas quotes the other works, the Talmud and others by separate titles and chapters. Judging now from the immense number of quotations from the Rabba Rabbati—to almost every verse of the Bible and not to the Pentateuch only—the book which Crescas used for his compilation under the name Rabba Rabbati, must, therefore, have been a very huge work indeed. Crescas is now adding to the complex character of the problem concerning the Rabba Rabbati. Be it as it may, this work now discovered by me throws a flood of light on the learning that prevailed in the community of Avignon at the end of the thirteenth century, on the number of Midrashim of which the scholars could avail themselves and of a desire to have a book like the Bet Zebul compiled for preachers and teachers; for where there is no demand there is no supply, and no man would settle down to spend years in the compilation of a book, whose value only lies in being a guide to men engaged on homiletic discourse.

A brief description of the three copies may now follow. No. 1, which I call Codex A (665), the most complete, consists of 273 folios; the introduction is written with the usual cursive hand of the Spanish oriental writer of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The style of the writer is that of the usual rhymed prose with very deft handling of Biblical phrases and Talmudic allusion. Unfortunately in a few places there are some worm-holes marked by me by dots. The book itself is written in two columns in the semi-cursive oriental hand; on the right hand side are the verses of the Bible and on the left the references. The books are divided into sections called by him Parashiot, corresponding more or less to the present division into chapters which at his time was unknown—an important indication to those who afterwards divided the Bible up into chapters and numbered them—and following the example of the Massora, he gives a number of verses contained in his compilation to which references have been adduced. But this counting of the verses is limited to the five books of the Pentateuch and to some of the minor books of the Bible.

Codex B (927) is to a large extent written in the same hand, but here already interpolations and additions are beginning to show themselves. They are not of the same hand but evidently have been added later. Many more additions have been made in the third manuscript which I call Codex C (928) This must have been written by at least two or three persons, for sometimes one hand finishes in the middle of the page; the writing is taken up from there and carried on by another hand for a number of pages when the first hand re-appears, and so it goes on throughout the manuscript, one hand alternating with the other, but not in such a manner that one could assume that someone having alighted upon the manuscript in a mutilated condition had tried to complete the missing portions; for then the second hand would start a page, whilst here as often as not, the second hand begins in the middle and finishes in the middle. This manuscript has undergone a thorough revision at a much later date by a man writing a cursive Spanish hand, rather involved and at a time when the Talmud had already been printed, for he often completes the original reference to the chapter and section by adding the folio. The book was to be made as serviceable as possible. The author of these additions seems to have been a certain Ẓemaḥ and his name occurs on sundry occasions. He seems to have had access to other manuscripts of this work, for he endeavours to supplement the text and to add further matter gathered from other manuscripts, at the same time being very careful to point out that mistakes may have crept in and a confusion arisen owing to the carelessness of copyists.

I am now giving some specimens of the Bet Zebul, selected from various parts of the Bible, and I have so arranged my copy as to include in square and round brackets the additions of the second and third hands, thus giving a fair sample on the one hand of the richness of the information—which by the way exceeds even the Bet Aharon as I have had occasion to satisfy myself—and on the other hand the manner in which the Bet Zebul had been used as it seems for centuries as the only book of references independent of and superior to any other books of the kind. I am also reproducing the notes which Ẓemaḥ added, as they are interesting from a literary point of view.

It is with deep satisfaction that I am now bringing to light an unknown work of this kind, and by so doing I am contributing to the perpetuation of the memory of a man who in his life and work had been a Bet Zebul to many anxious to enter the temple of Jewish Learning.

I פתחו שערים „כי ביניהם נקבצו" מכוש ומהודו ומכל עבר לבא בהיכל בית
זבול כי שמעו תבן ומספא שם וכי יש שכר חשים ונגשים ורצים כצבי קלו
5 ויעלו כנשרים „אבר לשואלים מי זה מאסף המחנות (5) ישיב אליעזר אני הגבר"
אני הגבר ראיתי בימי הבלי זמן זמנים ועדן עדנים מתהפכים מצד אל צד
10 מפיקים משתגים לכמה גונים הזמן רב מסבות למקריו תוצאות (10) רבות
„ועלמות אין מספר לנדודיו" איש כלי משחתו בידו וכלים מכלים שונים יש
מתעשר והון רב כגבור בכל קרב יריע אף יצריח וכל אשר יעשה יצליח
15 לחדשיו יבכר לחמו נתן מימיו נאמנים „ויש מתרושש ואין כל (15) אין אשכול
לאכול אין ענבים בגפן ואין תאנה בתאנים" השנוי יבא מהמקבלים אשר התעתדו
לגלים עולים ויורדים מפאת הגרמים השמימיים כרצון אלהי האלהים ואדני
20 האדנים יצום על פני תבל ארצה לעשות חפצו אם (20) לשבט אם לארצו כן
יהיה תמיד הענן יכסנו בשלום שורר יבואנו „עולם כמנהגו נוהג הללו עצבים
והללו שמחים עליונים למטה ולמעלה תחתונים." הירא את דבר ה' מאותות
25 השמים לא יחת ומהמונם לא יענה (25) „אם תחנה עלי מחנה" שומר מצוה לא
ידע דבר רע יוריד מלמעלה לא הדריכוהו בני שחץ ולא יזיקוהו שרפים עומדים
ממעל נחשים צפעונים זעום השם יפול שם בעודנו באבו רענן במסבו יבא
30 קדים רוח (30) העם נוססה בו „יבול עלהו ונסתפחה שדהו והנה עלה כלו
*II קמשונים" ואולם * לבעבור זאת אל חי חלקינו צורנו קרבנו לפני הר סיני „ונתן
35 לנו את תורתו האכילנו דבש מסלע הלבישנו שני עם עדנים" תורת אמת (35)
היתה בפיהו" שמורה בכל וערוכה לתת עלינו היום ברכה צדקה ומרפא
בכנפיה מימיה אנו שותים באר מים חיים „מעין גנים היא הבאר" קדש כרוה
40 נדיבי עמים הם יקראו את דבר אלי"ם שתים זו שמענו כלליה (40) דקדוקיה
כפתוריה ופרחיה ואבותינו ספרו לנו עדות לישראל שעמדו על הר סיני שם
יתנו צדקות ה' כולם נתנו מרועה אחד על פי המיוחד אדון האדונים יגידו

המאמינים בזאת יתהלל המתהלל יתפלל כל חסיד יהא חלקו ולחם חקו (45)
מהמחזיקים בתורת השם באהבתה ישנה תמיד יום ולילה נוצרה לרגעים לבקרים
ולעתים מזומנים ואוי לו לאדם ההולך בדרכיו ...... עם פועלי און יתערב
עם שוגים ובעונותינו שרבו רבו היום המתפרצים בבני עמינו מניחים (50) חיי
עולם ועוזבי השם יכלו זמנם ברב חלומות והבלים האבות מלקטים שבלים
בעמק רפאים והבנים יחדיו פונים לדברים בטלים מרבים הבל משחת לטרף
אל המדבר אשר המה חונים ורבים מעמי הארץ יושבי קרנות ישתקשקון (55)
ברחובות מתעסקים בהרוחת הממונות ויתר הקנאות ונמצא שם שמים מתחלל
ותורה משתכחת מישראל ואבדה חכמת חכמים ובינת נבונים הדור מתמוטט
והולך כלתה פרוטה מן הכיס „וסרה קנאת הסופרים" (60) והסופרים הולכים
נתמעטו הלבבות ובטלו הישיבות וננעלו שערי ציון אשר בהלכה מצוינים ואם
ימצא אחד מעיר יכוין לבו לקבוע עתים בתורה ימצאו ...... רבים בני
III שוממה לא ישימו אל לבם (65) ולא תכונה להטריד שכלם בדברים עמוקים
„ואין להם עסק במותרות רק במדרשים והגדות כמאמר הקדמונים ז"ל לשעבר
היתה הפרוטה מצויה והיה אדם מתאוה לשמוע דבר משנה ותלמוד ועכשיו
שאין הפרוטה מצויה וביותר (70) שהם חולים מן השעבוד אין מבקשין לשמוע
אלא דברי ברכות ונחמות הן הן הדברים באמירה נקנים" על כן נתעוררתי
אני הקטן אליעזר כב יהושע ז"ל המכונה בונופוש קרשקש מן הגולה אשר הגלתה
עם המגורשים ממלכות (75) צרפת בגרוש שלישי שנת כ'ל'ה' גרש גורשנו
מהסתפח בנחלתנו נהפכה לזרים והיה נוה תנים וישליכנו אל ארץ אחרת
מפורזים ומפורדים נעים ונדים זעיר שם וי"י בראשם והכל מודים
באלים ומברכים את רצונו הקדום (80) אשר כן גזר תחת היותם יושבים על
אדמתם בשובה ונחת טוב מלא כף נחת דשנים ורעננים ואני בתוך הגולה
נתגוררתי פה אוינון העיר המהוללה אשר שם מושב ומשכן האדנות הגדולה
ניר השרים והסגנים „והקהלה נבחרת גפן (85) אדרת העומדים לנס עמים
לתהלה לשם ולתפארת ולעטרת צבי תל שהכל אליו פונים גם בכנפיה נמצאו
ספרים שלמים וכן רבים ונכבדים חדשים גם ישנים" ונתתי אל לבי לחקור
ולדרוש ולתור בכל הספרים הנמצאים בכל גבולנו זה את כל (90) הפסוקים
הנדרשים בכל מקומות מושבותיהם ובתוך האהל הנם תמונים ולהעלות אותם
על ספר אחד ימצא שם הפסוק מיוחד עם המאמר אשר ממנו חוצב ואת אשר
כנזר עליו ונדרש על אופניו לכמה פנים ממזרח שמש וממערבה אשרקה להם
וקבצתי (95) מירכתי ארץ אלה מצפון ומים ואלה מארץ סינים „ואבנה להם
בית מדות כעדן גן אלי"ם ועליות מרווחים לשבת אחים גם יחד ואין מוקדם
*IV ומאוחר * רק מאמרים ופסוקים כהלכתן אין זכרון לראשונים וגם לאחרונים"
ועל שלחן (100) אחד ..... אני אליהם יעמדו יחדיו הבכור כבכורתו והצעיר
כצעירתו איש באחיו ידובקו והיו נכונים אין זה כי אם בית אלי"ם וזה שער
הפנים בית ועד לחכמים מלא כל טוב ספון כארזי הלבנון ועצי אלמוגים
„תוכו רצוף (105) אהבה בתענוגים והאדנים לעמודים פסוקים והלכות גנזיו

ועליותיו מדרשים והגדות אליו ואלומיו מאמרים נבחרים והסדרים ספורים
ומעשים ורצים על אלה אבנים יקרות אבני שוהם ואבני מלואים ממולאים
בתרשיש (110) הוא ההיכל לפנים קראתי בית זבול כאשר הוא מוסב מקדשיה
אשר הוא שם התאר לכלל הפסוקים אשר בתורה נביאים וכתובים מסודרים
ונמנים" וזאת שנית כי אמרתי עתה הפעם יזבלני ויחסדני (115) שומע כי
הכינותי לו מאור ושמש לאורו ילך חשך יגלה מצפונים והיה כל מבקש איזה
פסוק שידרוש משפטו באחד מן הספרים הנרשמים לגבר אשר דרכו נסתרה
ולא ידע מקומו הצבתי לו ציונים אם יהיה נדחו בקצה (120) השמים או מעבר
לים לא ייעף ולא יגע כי יפרוש כנפיו יקחהו ימצאהו על רגל אחת איש על
דגלו באותות וסמנים מקרא אומר דרשני משכני אחריך נרוצה כעב תעופינה
וכיונים וזרחה עליו שמש צדקה לעניים (125) ומרפא לעשירים יעיר אזן
שומעת בהגדות ומדרשים ועניינים קלים ונאותים אל ההמון יקלו למעיינים"
והמשכילים שכל טוב מידי עוברו סובב הולך רוחו אולי יראה ובאזניו ישמע
V* חכם ויוסיף (130) לקח והיילים יגביר יגדיל ויאדיר ומתוך שלא * לשמה יבוא
דודי לגנו לרעות את עצמו וללקוט שושנים ולא נעלם ממני שכבר קדמוני
גדולים חקרי לב לכתב על לוח אותם פסוקים רבים נדרשים בתלמוד לדעת
מוצאם ומובאם (135) למקומותם בשמותם בארץ אחוזתם והשתדלו במלאכה
הזאת לעשות כונים" וסמכו על הלוח לבדו ורבוי הספרים אשר אתם כי עם
זה יספיק להפקת הרצון והרעיונים אבל מי שאין לו ספרים מה יועיל כי
יפגע כן (140) ומה טיבו של שלחן בלי לחם הפנים „אחת היא על כן אמרתי
ראשית המחשבה היא אחרית המעשה הנני צורפם ובחנתים להיות על השלחן
לחם הפנים לפני תמיד לא יפרדו והבא אל הבית ימצא שלחן ערוך טבחו (145)
טבוח ויינו מזוג ואכל ושבע מפת בג המלך ומין הרקח מעסיס רמונים זאת
ועוד אחת גדלתי והוספתי יגעתי ומצאתי פסוקים רבים נדרשים בספרים
מתחלפים מכל אשר היו לפנים והנה בעניי הכינותי לבית אלי כל (150)
הפסוקים הנדרשים בשתא סדרי בבלאה יובאו והיתרים עליהם בתלמוד
ירושלמי ובבלי ותוספתא מכלתא ספרי ותורת כהנים עם אחריהם יובאו
מסכות אחרים נקבצים כגון מגילת תענית מסכת שמחות מס' (155) ס"ת מסכת
תפלין מסכת עבדים מס' גרים מסכת כותיים מסכת סופרים מס' כלה ובריתא
ובריתא דילה סדר עולם סדר עולם דרבנן פרק שלום פרק שירה דרך ארץ
רבא דרך ארץ זוטה חבוט הקבר ספר יצירה משנת המשכן והיא (160)
ממכלתא בריתא דר' אליעזר . . . . . . הגדת ביום השמיני וכל זה מרבה רבתי
*VI אבות דר' נתן פרקי ר' אליעזר אותיות דר' עקיבה רבה * ורבתי מדרש תלים
מדרש חזית תנחו' מס' גן עדן מס' גיהינם פתרון חלומות דיוסף לא (165)
היתה קריה אשר שגבה ממנה נמרצה שהתועלת המכון בזה הקבוץ הוא יותר

כ"כ מאשר גבלו ראשונים ואל יחשדני שומע באתי עד הלום להכניס ראשי בין הרים גדולים לעלות בתמר ולאחוז בסנסיניו לא להתגדל עשיתי זאת להיות (170) ...... אנשי ה' המחברים ומלבם יוציאו מילין אשר נאצל עליהם מן הרוח רוח חן ותחנונים כי מלאכה היא ולא חכמה רק טורח ויגיעה רבה מבלי עיון והשקפה ושקול שכל מכרעת במאזני העיונים" כאשר רחף הקורא בספרים (175) ומאמרים האדם יראה לעינים ונער יכתבם לזכרון בין עיניו זה ימים ושנים וכמלקט שבלים בין העמרים שנים שלשה גרגרים בחלקת מלאת שעורים כל הבא ימלא ידו אפילו נשים עבדים וקטנים ומזה הצד לא יוחס עלי גם כן (180) סכלות קניני והעדרי אם המצא תמצא בו השמטת פסוקים במקומות מה כי זה טעות סופר הוא אם כשגגה היוצא מלפניו אם לחולשת הראות יעמוד ולא אכיר מראהו על פני יחלוף ולא אבין ונער קטן נוהג בם (185) ירפא את שברם על נקלה קל מהרה יהיו מתוקנים וברצותי לבנות בית נאמן לשם י"י קבצתי פסוקים רבים נדרשים בספרים הנזכרים ואספתים אל תוך הבית והיו כאוכלי שלחני עמם במאכל במשתה משתה שמנים" אמנם (190) הנחתי מהם רבים בספרא וספרי ורבה רבתי ומדרש תהלים וחזית בחוץ יעמידו הנה כתי' רבים לא כלכלום אף כי הבית הזה אשר בניתי מלא כל גדותיו את גגו ואת קירותיו המחלצות והמעטפות והגליונים גם בהרבה VII* סוגיות (195) מהתלמוד בחרתי בקצור ולא הבאתי רק מדרש * הפסוק לבדו ודיו לעומק המושג וקשיו לעמוד על אמתת הדבר ואלו יצטרך להביא כל האמור לפניו ולפני פניו ולפעמים עד ראש הפרק או המשנה אז קצר המצע וימעט (200) הבית מהכיל כל ההמון הרב איש על מחנהו ואיש על דגלו בסוסיו וברכבו רכב אלי"ם רבותים אלפי שנאנים" ואם יגזור השם בחיים וירחיב לנו דעתי לחזק את בדק הבית ולחפש במומיו וחסרונו אם יוכל (205) להמנות ונתתי את פני לסדר את המאמרים כלם כפי סדר הפסוקים בתורה נביאים וכתובים למשפחות ולבית אבותם כתולדותם איש אל מקומו יבא בשלום ולא יסמוך על שולחן אחרים להיות נודד ללחם איה שוקל (210) איה סופר כי בכל מקום שהוא ילך ביתו שמה מפתו יאכל ובכוסו ישתה ובשמחתו לא יתערב זר" וילמד סתום מן המפורש על פי הרש' או מפרשים אחרים שיהיה כתוס' בגליון „ואשר לא ימצא בה באור ילך אלך (215) אל הר המור אל חכמי הדור המה יורוני אתבונן מזקנים למען יהיה תועלתו מרובה וירוץ הקורא בו יסובבנהו יכוננהו יציץ מן החרכים ישגיח מן החלונים (220) והאל יצילני משגיאה מפשע רב וזדונים ויתן ליעף כח ועצמה לאין אונים" תם ונשלם.

הנה זאת תורת הבית וההיכל לפני וזה השלחן אשר לפני ה'. (224)

בראש' וירא.

וירא אליו ה' וגו' והוא יושב וגו' כחום היום.	סוטה פ"א; בבא מציעה פ"ז; ברכות פ"ג; לך לך רבתי; וירא רבתי ח' כ"ו; בראש' רבתי, פכ"ח דר' אליעזר ד' כ"ו; לך לך רבה [פמ"א] ה' כ"ו; תנחומא וירא ב' כ"ו (ב"ר ד"ו ע"ד) [ויק' רבה פ"א; נשיא רבה פי"א מדרש שיר רפ"ב].
וישא עיניו וירא וגו' [והנה שלשה וגו'] וירץ לקראתם.	ב"מ פ"ז ב' כ"ו; וירא רבתי ג' כ"ו; חיי רבתי; פכ"ט דר' אליעזר תוספות סוטה פ"ד; וירא רבה (ב' כ"ו); תנחום' וירא ב' כ"ו; [ש"ר פכ"ח].
ויאמר ה' אם נא מצאתי וגו' אל נא וגו'.	שבת פי"ח; ב"מ פ"ז; שבועות פ"ד ב' כ"ו; וירא רבתי; דרך ארץ רבה פ"ג; ספרי פ"ד; וישלח רבתי; וירא, שמיני רבה [פא].
יוקח נא מעט מים וגו' והשענו וגומ'.	ב"מ פ"ח ב' כ"ו; מכילתא בשלח, וירא, חיי רבתי, דרך ארץ רבה פ"ג; תוספתא' סוטה פ"ד וירא רבה ב' כ"ו תנחומה וירא [נשא ר' פ' י"ד].
ואקחה פת לחם וגו' כי על כן וגו' כן תעשה.	ב"מ פ"ז ג' כ"ו; נדה פ"ד וירא חיי רבתי; דרך ארץ רבה פרק ג' אד"ן פי"ג תוספתא ד'; סוטה פ"ד; וירא רבה ד' כ"ו; בשלח רבה; תנחומה וירא ב' כ"ו מד' קהלת [בלק רבה].
וימהר אברהם וגו' מהר וגו' לושי וגו'.	ב"מ פ"ז; לך לך רבתי; וירא חיי רבתי; אד"ן פי"ג; תוספ' סוטה פ"ד וירא רבה ד' כ"ו בא רד' בשלח רבה; תנחום' בשלח. וירא, (חיי); [תצא רבה].
ואל הבקר רץ וגו', ויקח וגו' וימהר וגו'.	ב"מ פ"ז ד' כ"ו; וירא רבתי, חיי רבתי ב' כ"ו; אד"ן פי"ג מכילתא בשלח; וישלח רבתי, תוספת' סוטה פ"ד ב' כ"ו אתה

	רבה [פכ"א] אמור רבה [פ' כ"ז] תנחומה וירא תנח' וישלח [נשא רבה פ"ג וי"ד]
ויקח חמאה וגו' והוא עומד וגו'.	ב"מ פ"ז ו' כ"ו וירא רבתי ג' כ"ו חיי רבתי, מכילתא בשלח תוספת' סוטה פ"ד וירא רבה ג' כ"ו תשא [פמ"ז] בהר רבה [פל"ד] תנחומ' (ויצא) תרומה מדרש תהלים.
ויאמרו אליו איה שרה וגו' הנה באהל.	יבמות פי"ח ב"מ פ"ז ב' כ"ו סופרים פ"ו אד"ן פל"ג ספרי בהעלותך וירא רבתי [במדבר רבה פ"ג].

ס' במדבר סיני.

וידבר ה' אל משה וגו' (בשנה השנית וגו').	שבת פ"ט פסחים פ"א בראשית רבתי מכילתא יתרו, ספרא צו בשלח רבה ספרי בהעלותך, במדבר רבה [פ"ג] ה' כ"ו פרק שירה.
שאו את ראש וגו' (למשפחותיהם וגו').	קדושין פר' ג' בבא בתרא פ"ח בכורות פ"א מכילתא כ"א במדבר רבה ח' כ"ו [פ"ד, ופ"ז ופ"ט] ספרי פנחס [מצורע רבה פי"ח].
מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה. [ואתכם יהיו וגו']. [ואלה שמות האנשים]	(תנח' קרח), מכילתא בשלח, במד' רבה [נשא רבה פי"ב עקב רבה] [נשא רבה פי"ג].
אלה קרואי העדה וגו'.	תנחומ' קרח [נשא רבה פי"ג ופי"ח].
ויקח משה וגו' אשר נקבו בשמות וגו'.	סנהדרין פ"ז ספרא צו במד' רבה.
ויתילדו על משפחותיהם.	ויגש רבתי, מכלתא כ"א תולדות רבה במד' רבה כ' כ"ז, תנח' חקת, מדרש תלים פ"ז מדרש שיר (ב"ר ד"ק ע"ד) [חקת רבה].

ונסע אהל מועד וגו׳ כאשר חנו וגו׳.	ירושלמי ערובין פ״ה זבחים פ״ו פי״ד מנחות פי״א ז׳ כ״ז, משנת המשכן פי״ג ג׳ כ״ז במדבר רבה, מד׳ שיר.
ונשיא בית אב (למשפרות מררי).	משנת המשכן פי״ג ספר תורה פ״ה.

ס׳ יהושע

ויהי אחרי מות משה וגו׳.	ויחי רבתי תמורה פ״ב חיי רבתי כ׳ כ״ו [פס״ב נשא רבה פי״ב].
משה עבדי מת ועתה קום וגו׳.	קדושין פ״א סדר עולם פ״י אד״ן פי״ב (רבא ע״ח).
כל מקום אשר תדרוך וגו׳.	חלה פ״ב, בא רבה [פט״ו] (רבא ע״ח).
מהמדבר והלבנון הזה וגו׳.	שבועות פ״ז חלה פ״ב ספרי דברים.
כאשר הייתי עם משה.	תנחומה תצוה (רבא קצ״ג) [מטות רבה].
רק חזק ואמץ מאד וגו׳.	ברכות פ״ה.
לא ימוש ספר התורה הזה וגומ׳.	ירושלמי סנהדרין פ״ז בבלי פי״א ע״ז פ״א ברכות פרק ח׳ (רבא ק״ב) פאה פ״א ויצא רבתי. מנחות פרק י״א ג׳ כ״ו (מדרש חת״ו) מגילת תענית פי״ב תפלין פ״א אבות דר׳ נתן פכ״א ספרי פנחס [ספה] עקב נ״ה [ח׳] תולדות [ר׳] וארא ר׳ מצרע ר׳ בחקותי ר׳ עקב רבה מדרש תלים ח׳ מדרש קהלת ואיכה בר׳ ד״ה ע״ג.
עברו בקרב המחנה וגו׳ כי בעוד שלשת ימים וגו׳.	קדושין פ״א תמורה פ״ב מדרש שיר וקהלת סדר עולם דרבנן.
[כל איש אשר ימרה וגו׳]	[סנהד׳ פ״ד ב׳ כ״ו נשא רבה פי״ד מד׳ שיר פי״ז].

[וישלח יהושע בין, נון מן השטים] חרש לאמר וגו' ראו את הארץ וגו'.	[שלח רבה פי"ו מדרש רות דף ל"א]. בר' רבתי, ספרי עקב תנח' שלח מדרש רות.

ישעיהו

חזון ישעיהו בן אמוץ וגו' בימי עזיה ג מ'.	פסחים פ"ז כ' כ"ו, מגילה פ"א ירוש' סנהד' פי"א סדר עולם פי"ט, בראשית רבתי ב' כ"ו בחוקותי רבתי (בר' די' ע"א). [סוטה פ"א].
שמעו שמים והאזינו ארץ וגו' (בנים נדלתי וגו').	מכילת' ב' כ"ו, מקץ רׄבתי ספרי האזינו כ' כ"ו [במדבר רבה פ"ב האזינו רבה].
[ידע שור קונהו וגו'].	מכות פ"ג האזינו רבה אמור רבה].
הוי גוי חוטא וגו' זרע מרעים וגו'.	קדושין פ"א מקץ רבתי בא רבא ספרי האזינו מדרש תהלים א' (מד' איכה כ' כ"ו).
כל ראש לחלי וכל לבב דוי.	מדרש איכה כ' כ"ו.
אדמתכם לנגדכם זרים וגו'.	מדרש איכה.
לולי ה' צבאות הותיר לנו וגו'.	כתובות פ"א ברכות פ"ט מקץ רבתי מדרש שיר תולדות רבתי.
שמעו דבר ה' קציני סדום.	כתובות פ"א ברכות פ"ט.
למה לי רב זבחיכם.	חגיגה פ"א, ברכות פ"ה תנחומה וירא.
כי תבאו לראות פני.	חגיגה פ"א.
חדשיכם ומועדיכם שנאה נפשי.	שבת פכ"א מגילה פ"ד ב'ר פ ג תנחו' פנחס פנחס רבה.

תהלים

אשרי האיש אשר וגו' ובדרך חטאים.	ירוש' ובבלי קדושין פ"א ע"ז פ"א ד' כ"ו אבות פ"ג ברכות פ"א ב' כ"ו ויחי רבתי אד"ן פכ"א מקץ רבתי ב' כ"ו ב"ר כ"ו וס"א חיי רבה ויחי רבה פ' ק' מדרש תהלים א' כ"ו כ"ו נשא רבה פי"ד.
כי אם בתורת ה' חפצו ובתורתו וגו'.	קדושין פ"א ע"ז פ"א ה' כ"ו בראש' רבה פ' ט' חיי רבה תנח' נח מדשר תילים ג' ו' כ"ו.
והיה כעץ שתול וגו' אשר פריו וגו'.	סוכה פ"ב, כתובו' פ"ה בבא קמא פ"ד סנהדרין פי"א ע"ז פ"א מקץ רבתי וישלח רבתי בראשי' רבה חיי רבה פ' ס"א תנחו' בראשית מדרש תילים א' ה' כ"ו מדרש רות שמיני רבה פ' י"א מדרש אחשורוש דף ל"ח.
לא כן הרשעים כי אם כמוץ וגו'.	ע"ז פ"א מקץ רבתי בראש' רבה מדרש תילים א' ה' כ"ו.
על כן לא יקומו רשעים וגו'.	סנהדרין פי"א אד"ן פל"ה בראשית רבה מד"ר תהלים א' ה' כ"ו.
כי יודע ה' דרך צדיקים וגו'.	מקץ רבתי בראש' רבה ב' כ"ו פ' ח' מדרש תהילים א' ד' כ"ז.

הוספה א' צד 292a כ"י 928

אשרי האיש וגו'.	ברכות פק"י. דף א'. ע"ז פ"ק י"ח דף ב' ירושל' קדושין פ"ק מ"א עלה ד' ב"ר כ"ו תנחומה ויחי.
ובמושב לצים וגו'.	קדוש' פ"ב מ"א דף א'.

כי אם בתורת ה' וגו'.	ע"ז פ"ק י"ח דף ב'-וי"ט דף א' ב"ר כ"ו וס"א.
ובתורתו יהגה וגו'.	קדושין פ"ק ל"ב דף ב'.
והיה כעץ וגו'.	ע"ז פ"ק י"ט דף ב' ירוש' ברכות פ"ק ב' עלה ג' בר' כ"ו וס"א תנחומ' שמיני אסתר פ"א.
אשר פריו יתן	כתובות פ' אע"פ ס"ב דף ב' קמא פ' מרבה פ"ב דף א'.
ועלהו לא יבול	סוכה פרק כ"א דף ב'.
לא כן הרשעים	ע"ז פ"ק י"ט דף ב'.
על כן לא וגו'	סנהדרין פ' חלק ק"ח דף א'.
כי יודע ד' דרך	ב"ר ב' וח'.

הוספה ב' צד 302b.

אשרי האיש	ע"ז פ"א ב' מקואות.
כי אם בתורת ה' חפצו	ע"ז פ"ג.
והיה כעץ שתול. על כן הרשעים.	ע"ז פ"ג.
דברי קהלת בן דוד וגו'.	ספרי דברים, מדרש שיר, צד' קהלת כ' כ"ו.
הבל הבלים אמר קהלת.	ב"ב פ"ו דברים רבתי מדרש שיר מדרש תהלים צ"ב מדרש שיר מדרש קהלת.
מה יתרון לאדם וגו'.	שבת פ"ב גיטין פ"י סנהדרין פ"ז אמור רבה כ' כ"ו מד' קהלת ר' כ"ו.

מה שהיה הוא שיהיה וגו'. ואין כל חדש תחת וגומ'.	שבת פ"ב, נדרים פ"ד סנהדרין פי"א ברכות פ"ט סופרים פכ"א בראשית רבתי פכ"א דר' אליעזר ב"ר י"ב כ"ו בא רבתי, מדרש תלים ק"ז מד' רות מדרש קהלת.
יש דבר שיאמר ראה זה.	פאה פ"ב אתה רדתי, מדרש קהלת.
אין זכרון לראשונים.	מדרש קהלת.
אני קהלת הייתי מלך.	גיטין פ"ו סנהדרין, מכילתא בשלח תנחומה אתה, מדרש רות מדרש שיר מדרש קהלת.
לדרוש ולחקור בחכמה וגו' הוא ענין רע.	מדרש שיר מד' קהלת.
מעות לא יוכל לתקון.	סוכה פ"ב חגיגא פ"א יבמות פ"ב ברכות פ"ג דרך ארץ רבה פ"ב תוס' חגיגה פ"א מדרש רות מדרש קהלת כ' כ"ו.

THE SERMONS OF JUDAH MOSCATO[1]

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I

IN the history of Jewish preaching, Judah Moscato occupies a unique position. He perfected the form, and transfigured the substance, of the Jewish sermon. He raised it to the level of a distinct literary art. Even in the ancient homily there were not lacking beauty of expression and profound moral feeling, but in the composite character in which it has come down to us we fail to discern true unity of thought and uninterrupted progression of ideas, elements so essential in a sustained literary effort. The Midrashic homilies abound in excellences of various sorts: in rich religious sentiment, in fine poetic insight, in succinct, striking, fascinating language; but these appear like sudden flashes, brilliant but sporadic, illuminating the theme for a brief moment but seldom furthering its logical development. They are not climaxes in a thought; they are sparks escaping from the rock when the darshan's hammer falls heavily upon it.[2] In the transition period, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, we see the Jewish sermon struggle toward fuller independence, seeking to achieve a larger measure of structural completeness and a more varied, if not richer, content. But to evolve out of the traditional homily, as embodied in the latest Midrashic compilations, often disjointed and lacking in progressive continuity, a well-sustained, unified discourse, unfolding some one central theme with logical sequence and linguistic precision, proved a more difficult task than homiletical ingenuity alone could successfully cope with. Outside aid was urgently needed, and, in many cases, diligently sought. The revival of learning in Europe, which opened up new sources of knowledge and breathed a new spirit into the thinking world, afforded the Jewish preacher, too, fresh accessions of material as well as superior models of literary excellence. Jacob Anatoli, in the thirteenth century, Baḥya ben Asher, in the fourteenth century, and Isaac Arama, in the fifteenth century, for example, widely divergent as they are in their style and method of preaching, possessed, among others, this characteristic in common, that, along with their mastery of the Jewish sources, they brought to their task a thorough acquaintance with the thought and learning of their respective ages, and that in the construction of their sermons they had profited much from their familiarity with other forms of literary expression. Thus, even in this early period, we meet with a conscious effort to instruct and edify by means of well constructed discourses on religious and moral subjects, in which Biblical and Rabbinic thought is enforced with illustrations from philosophy and science and personal observation. But these written discourses are nothing more than short treatises on religious themes homiletically expounded. The breath of the spoken word is not in them. Their authors think and write as makers of books, addressing themselves to readers, not as speakers, addressing themselves to audiences. Hence, their style is largely of the impersonal kind. It possesses clarity, but lacks directness. The diction is correct, but unimaginative. The form is sometimes simple, more often complex, but seldom beautiful. Nor is the subject matter of such a nature as cannot be found more elaborately and more convincingly treated in the works on ethics and philosophy, which these preachers used so freely and from which they quoted so copiously. The appeal of their sermons is thus chiefly to the mind, the reason, occasionally to the emotions, rarely to the executive faculty, the will. In fact, the philosophical sermon seems to have but one object in view: to engraft Greek speculation on Jewish thought and belief, to harmonize philosophy and religion.

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[1] Moscato was born in the town of Osimo, near Ancona on the Adriatic, during the first half of the sixteenth century. The exact date of his birth cannot be ascertained. If his plea for financial assistance for those who suffered expulsion (Sermon 23) be taken to refer to the Jewish expulsions from Tunis, in 1535 (Cf. Abba Apfelbaum, *Toldot Moscato*, p. 8), then the date of his birth must fall not later than in the first decade of the sixteenth century. At any rate, he remained in his native city up to 1554, when Paul IV ordered the expulsion of all Jews from the Ancona district, which had been annexed to the papal states by Clemens VII in 1532. Forced to leave his native city, Moscato found refuge in Mantua, in the home of his kinsman, Samuel Minzi Beretaro. Here he found shelter, and stimulus for intelectual activity (הקדמה, נפ"י). For here, in Mantua, lived and worked Azariah dei Rossi and the Provençal brothers who played an important role in his intellectual growth (Ser. 33, p. 85a). Here he soon became known as a man of wide and varied learning and as a preacher of extraordinary power. In 1587, he was made Chief Rabbi of Mantua, and a year later his נפוצות יהודה appeared, upon which his fame rests and, we think, rests securely. He died a little before 1594, as his commentary to the Cuzari, entitled קול יהודה, was published in that year, posthumously.

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[2] Sanh. 34a.

Moscato metamorphosed the form and vitalized the content of the Jewish sermon. With him the sermon assumes the form of a religious message addressed to a congregation. At the heart of every one of his sermons, there is a weighty theme the spiritual implications of which are of profound significance to the life and conduct of the people. To develop this central theme in the clearest and most effective manner, he draws upon all his intellectual resources: Bible, Midrash, Biblical Commentary, Cabala, art, science, philosophy, history, literature. All his vast information, Jewish and general, he uses as a reservoir wherewith to irrigate the soil of his message. For, however deeply engrossing the means, the end is never lost sight of, which is, to build up a stronger Jewish consciousness, a more unyielding loyalty to the teachings and ideals of the past, and a closer attachment for the things of the spirit. And this message is cast in a mould so graceful and artistic that, despite the antiquated character of much of the material he uses, one is tempted to characterize Moscato as the father of the modern Jewish sermon.

II

The נפוצות יהודה[3] comprises the entire homiletical output of Moscato, extant.[4] It consists of fifty-two occasional sermons on a variety of subjects, held together by the golden thread of ancient Jewish lore, and permeated by one common purpose, namely, to instruct and edify the scattered communities of Judah.[5] These sermons represent the actual utterance of the preacher, presumably in his native tongue, Italian, though some of them might well have been preached in their present Hebrew form. Many of these sermons were preached in the Synagogue before general assemblies;[6] some were preached before small gatherings on special occasions;[7] while others may have been preached before a small circle of friends in the House of Study.[8] They were preached on all sorts of occasions, principally on the chief Holydays, at Abrahamitic rites, at weddings and funerals, at the dedication of a Yeshiva, on special Sabbaths, and on ordinary Sabbaths when local emergencies called for the pleading voice of the preacher.[9]

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[3] The references given in this paper are based on the Warsaw edition, 1871

[4] He refers occasionally—Sermon 51, p. 133—to a commentary of his on Canticles, but that commentary seems never to have been published.

Everyone of these sermons bears a well chosen title, such as "Trust and Thanksgiving," "Fathers and Sons," "Sacred and Secular," "The Microcosm," "The Divine Circle," "Israel the Unique People," "Love and Fear," "Exaltation through Faith," "The Glory of Man." Underneath the heading of the sermon is placed the proposition, כלל הדרוש, a brief summary of the central thought and main divisions of the sermon. This is followed, generally, by the Biblical Text, נושא,[10] after which comes the Rabbinic Text, מאמר,[11] Frequently the Biblical text is dispensed with.[12] Sometimes, the sermon is lacking in a specific Rabbinic text, the whole message revolving around the Biblical text.[13] Occasionally, when the sermon is expository in character, both texts are omitted.[14]

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[5] הקדמה.

[6] Cf. note to Ser. 32, p. 82a; Ser. 23, p. 58b; Ser. 36, p. 96a.

[7] Ser. 28, p. 71a; Ser. 29, p. 71a.

[8] Sermons 1 and 5, for example.

[9] Sermons 40, 41, 42 were preached on Rosh Hashanah; 38 and 39 on the Sabbath of Repentance; 20 on Yom Kippur; 15, 17, 30, 36, 52 on Succoth; 37 on Hanukkah; 23 on the Great Sabbath; 4, 21, 51 on Passover; 12 and 13 on Shabuoth; 43 on the Sabbath of Comfort; 28, 29 at births; 26 at a wedding; 32, 33, 34, 35 at funerals; 16 at the dedication of the Mantua Yeshiva.

[10] Ser. 9, p. 22b. מה לי עוד לבקש אמרים לצורך הקדמה הואיל והנושא עצמו . . .

[11] Ser. 9, p. 27a. והכל נשמע במאמר אשר יצאה ראשונה...

[12] Ser. 5, 13, 27, etc.

[13] Ser. 45, 50.

[14] Ser. 19.

The sermon proper, דרוש, which ensues, is generally opened with an exordium. For Moscato accepts and, in most instances, faithfully follows, Cicero's outline of a properly constructed oratorical composition, which consists of four parts: the exordium, the proposition, the analysis, the conclusion.[15] The forms the exordium assumes are as varied as they are effective. At times, it dwells briefly on the importance of the theme selected, as in the fifth sermon, "The Scroll of Order," wherein the discussion of the subject is introduced with the thought that nature impresses us most profoundly with its superb oderliness, that a perfect God seems to have imparted a portion of His harmonious nature to the works of His hands; or, as in the fifty-first sermon, "A Remembrance of the Departure from Egypt," wherein it develops the thought that what most distinguishes man from the rest of the animal kingdom is his gift of speech, and that therefore his feeling of gratitude, which he shares in common with brute creation, finds clearest utterance in human speech, in words of praise and thanksgiving. Sometimes, the exordium touches upon the occasion which has called forth the sermon, as in the sixteenth sermon, preached at the dedication of the Mantua Yeshiva, wherein it pays generous tribute to the leaders of the community by whose vision and effort the institution came into being; or, as in the twenty-fourth sermon, "Pay Thy Vows unto God," wherein it animadverts, with considerable displeasure, upon the sad practice prevalent among certain classes, of publicly vowing to pay stipulated amounts into the congregational treasury, in recognition of honors bestowed upon them at the Synagogue, and then refusing to make good their promises. Not infrequently, the exordium embodies some casual, personal remarks, which have no direct bearing on the sermon itself, and are addressed to the hearers as such, either in the nature of a humble apology for presuming to speak on such an occasion or on such a weighty question, as in the thirty-second and thirty-sixth sermons, or, in the nature of a personal declaration of intention, as in the thirty-ninth sermon, wherein the audience is roughly divided into three groups and the promise is held out to each of mental and spiritual sustenance proper to its condition. At times, as in the twenty-first sermon, the exordium refers to a sermon, of similar content, recently given by the preacher on another occasion, and which the congregation presumably remembers. Occasionally, the exordium consists of the statement that the extreme transparency of the text makes all preliminary comments superfluous, as in the ninth sermon.

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[15] Ser. 5, p. 18a.

As a rule, the exordium is marked by directness of approach, sincerity of feeling, and beauty of expression. To illustrate Moscato's method of approach as well as to reveal some of the qualities of his literary style, it may be well to give here, in translation, a characteristic exordium to one of his sermons.

"The sun, which illumined with its brilliant rays my own dark and weak mind, imparting to it such glow and vigor as inspired me with the confidence to cope with questions too deep for me—that sun has set. I refer to the great light of our master and teacher, Rabbi Moses Provençal, who was a veritable well of living water unto me, and in whose light I did see light. But, alas! thick darkness now envelopes me. I face the perplexing problems of life, divested of all power and guidance. The simplest questions tower before me as insurmountable difficulties. Truly, 'my heart fluttereth, my strength faileth me; as for the light of my eyes, it also is gone from me.' O, would that I could pay adequate tribute to this man of God, to impress you with the loss we have sustained! It is a task which only my recent illness prevented me from attempting hitherto, and which even now I cannot hope to fulfill creditably, for it baffles my limited strength. Yet, a great duty rests upon me. I cannot evade it. Thus, two conflicting emotions are struggling within me: a feeling of utter powerlessness, and a sense of imperious obligation. I am like a man seized with the palsy, which ailment, medical authorities assure us, is caused by two opposite motions, an upward and a downward motion, the debilitated condition of the organ making it tend downwards while its innate energy pulses upwards, thus creating by these contrary currents a state of constant vibration and tremor. I, too, am all aquiver. My sense of duty impels me to the task confronting me, while my sense of unfitness restrains me, yea, pulls me back. It is only the consciousness that in matters of insuperable difficulty the will is often taken for the deed, that induces me to grapple with the task duty has laid upon me. And so, I unfurl to the wind the sails of my frail, weather-beaten boat, and send it forth to brave the stormy sea, not recking whether it survive or perish."[16]

The body of the sermon, with its analyses or divisions, while aiming to unfold the main theme as foreshadowed in the title and lay bare its spiritual implications, is structurally dependent on the Rabbinic text, the full development of which links it, generally, with the thought of the Biblical text. The Biblical text thus becomes, in most instances, a terminal point and not, like the Rabbinic text, a vehicle hastening toward a final destination. This constitutes, in the main, a notable departure from the earlier method of Jewish preaching, which was largely scriptural in character, a departure, however, not initiated by Moscato, though it acquired greater plausibility and hence gave surer promise of permanence, when Moscato's art invested the new method with the beauty of perfection. Ever since the close of the Gaonic period, when the compiler's work was done and the Midrash was canonized, so to speak, the Jewish preachers, lured by the infinite possibilities of this inexhaustible source, turned their attention more and more to the homiletical interpretation of this newer material, often to the neglect, if not total exclusion, of the primary source, the Bible. This virtual subordination of the Bible, as a source of material for the preacher, to the rabbinic homilies, of unequal spiritual stimulus and literary worth, paved the way for that regrettable deterioration in Jewish preaching which, in later centuries, culminated in such tragic futility and hopeless impotence.

Yet, in Moscato, only faint traces, prophetic of the sermon's future decline, are here and there visible. That habitual play on words, so indigenous to the technique of the ancient homilists, becomes strangely incongruous when fused with subtlety of thought and dexterity of language. The thought that love has the power to unite two souls into one is confirmed by the fact that אהבה and אחד are of the same numerical value.[17] The fear of god and the love of God are inextricably interwoven as is evidenced from the fact that אהבה and יראה have two letters in common, and that the first two of the one joined to the first two of the other and the last two of the one joined to the last two of the other, will reproduce the identical words respectively unchanged.[18] The word רפאים refers to the dead, because its root, רפא, when read from left to right, points to the element into which they resolve.[19] The word פלא signifies a reversal in the natural process, because, when read from left to right, it finds itself back at the point from which it originally started on its alphabetical career.[20] The celebration of the Feast of Dedication lasts eight days, because it commemorates the miracle, wrought in the oil, שמן, a word strongly alliterative with שמנה; hence, the word חשמנאי incorporates the luminous substance, as well as, in the first letter, the duration, of that feast.[21] The reason why the expression כי טוב, associated with the other things of creation, is not used with reference to man, may be rationally accounted for. In the first place, man at his best represents a higher kind of "good" than that ascribed to other creatures, and, in the second place, man at his worst is unworthy of such a characterization. Hence, the significance of the verse: מה רב טובך אשר צפנת ליראיך פעלת לחוסים בך נגד בני אדם. How great, to those who fear Thee, is the טוב which Thou hast omitted! Thou hast done this, first, for the glory of those who trust in Thee (seeing that they represent a higher type of good than could be conveyed by the term טוב), and secondly, for the humiliation of those so earthly as not to merit the epithet.[22] The mystical thought that circumcision of the body symbolizes the circumcision of the heart, and that the true function of the rite is to bring us closer to God, finds support in the verse מי לה' אלי ויאספו אליו כל בני לוי, distorting the reading, of course, to מילה אלי.[23] And this, despite his own just criticism of Albo, who, in his עקרים, interprets a verse in a way that does violence to its syntax![24]

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[16] Ser. 33, p. 85a.

[17] Ser. 32, p. 81b.

These vagaries and others, too numerous to mention, exhibit Moscato as a child of his day when verbal ingenuity was as much admired in the preacher as in the man of letters, when general literature swarmed with "quips and cranks and wanton wiles," and when in Jewish preachers especially, heirs to the worst as well as the best style of the ancient homilists, such artifices acquired naturalness and authoritative sanction. Besides, in Moscato, these artificial devices adorn, or mar, only the fringes of his sermon; they are not woven into its texture. Through the main fabric of the sermon run strands spun out of the best thought of a renascent culture. No other Jewish preacher we could mention reveals in his sermons such a vast acquaintance with the thought and learning of past ages. His sermons fairly bristle with references and quotations from Plato and Aristotle, Philo and Josephus, Galenus and Publius Ovidius, Quintilianus and Cicero, Asklepiades, Seneca, Averroes, Rudolph Agricola, Pico de Mirandola, etc., not to speak of Saadia, Maimonides, Halevi, Baḥya, Ibn Ezra, Levi ben Gershon, Crescas, and others. He speaks with as much familiarity of music as of Hebrew grammar;[25] of anatomy and physiology as of Biblical history;[26] of Greek poetry and mythology as of the religious profundities of the Psalms.[27] In fact, criticism of his frequent use of foreign sources and secular material must have been widely current, for on more than one occasion he feels constraint to justify his method: "Let it not vex you because I draw so much upon extraneous sources. For to me, these foreign streams flow from our own Jewish wells. The nations of the earth derived their wisdom from our own sages. If I often make use of information gathered from secular books, it is only because I know the true origin of that information. Besides, I know what to reject as well as what to accept."[28]

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[18] Ser. 30, p. 75b.

[19] Ser. 31, p. 76a.

[20] Ser. 33, p. 86a.

[21] Ser. 37, p. 100b.

[22] Ser. 31, p. 77b.

[23] Ser. 28, p. 70b.

[24] Ser. 30, p. 74b.

The framework of the sermon, though considerably modified by him, came to him, in the main, as an inheritance from the past, but its substance he enriched with the treasures of his own mind and heart. He poured into the archaic mould the pure metal of an industrious, inventive intelligence. That definite principles, of a high order, guided Moscato in the preparation of his sermon, principles which he applied with the scrupulousness and conscientiousness of the true artist, not only to the product as a whole but to each of its component parts as well, becomes evident from his repeated affirmations regarding the function of the sermon and the duty of the preacher. A sermon, says Moscato, must possess two indispensable elements: sound substance and artistic form. It must satisfy our craving for beauty as well as our thirst for knowledge.[29] Hence, he disclaims the art of sermon-making when called upon merely to exhort the people to contribute generously to a worthy philanthropic cause.[30] When constrained by the exigencies of the time to appeal for financial aid from the pulpit, he does so parenthetically, as it were, interrupting himself in the discussion of his general theme, in order to perform this unhomiletical function.[31] Not that he minimizes the importance of such appeals, or that, in his preaching, he contents himself with the vain gratification of a barren acquiescence. On the contrary, in all his preaching he is upheld by the confident expectation that his words will bear very practical results. "I know," he says at the close of one of his characteristic appeals, "that you will respond to this plea of mine on behalf of the poor and the needy, that you will be unto them as the rain that refreshes and the dew that quickens. Therefore, as a token of my appreciation of your generosity, I will proceed to interpret a verse from the Psalms, which confirms the truth I have been expounding."[32] To interpret a verse from the Psalms, that confirms a vital truth, he might have added, will not only compensate adequately a generous response, but, in the long run, will prove the surest and most effective means of awakening such a response. For Moscato views the sermon as a mere instrumentality that shall operate on the will, giving it firmness, power and direction. But the will is not a fortress to be taken by storm; it is a human faculty to be trained and moulded into a fit organ of obedience. To win over the will to a prescribed plan of life and duty, the sermon must possess sound thought clothed in a garment of beauty, and the preacher of that sermon must be imbued with a spirit of perfect sincerity. "The preacher shall employ beauty of expression, cogent reasoning, logical construction, but, above all, exemplify in his conduct the truths he seeks to inculcate. A preacher who is deficient in any of these qualities should refrain, or be restrained, from speaking in public."[33] The extravagant use of words and the unnecessary multiplication of facts he regards, therefore, as a presumption as well as a positive hindrance to effective preaching. "I shall not enumerate all the difficulties involved in this statement, lest I swerve from my purpose and lose myself in vain effusions, which are always sinful because never helpful."[34] To be helpful, enlightening, stimulating, strengthening, this he believes to be the highest function of the true preacher. It may be necessary and even profitable to exhort, to rebuke, in order to infuse holiness into the people, but it is a finer form of the preacher's art to endeavor to make the holy impulses within the people more permanent, to confirm them in the good life they are already living, to give them the will, the steadfastness, to continue.[35]

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[25] Ser. 1, p. 1a.
[26] Ser. 8, p. 24b.
[27] Ser. 13, p. 37a.
[28] Ser. 5, p. 18a.

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[29] Ser. 23, p. 58b.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ser. 4, p. 12a.

[32] Ser. 36, p. 98a.

With such a conception of the true aim of the sermon and the chief elements that must enter into its composition, it was inevitable that Moscato should pay heed to the peculiar needs, the particular capacity, of the people whom the sermon was meant to benefit. Deeply philosophical though his sermons invariably are, he spares no effort to make himself clearly understood, avoiding all such minute analyses as would tend to confuse the intelligent follower of the discussion. "At this time, I shall not attempt to probe the depth of this subject, contenting myself with the discussion of its more immediate, its external, aspects, for the needs of the many claim now my attention."[36] Of course, to the unintelligent, the untrained mind, he can offer little encouragement. He will not descend to a lower intellectual level in order to capture the interest of the unthinking crowd. "And those who are unaccustomed to philosophic reasoning will do well to accept on faith what may be clearly demonstrated by reason."[37] But even to the intelligent reader or listener, unless ideas are made concrete, transparently clear, abstract truth will prove more bewildering than enlightening. Moscato, therefore, never fails to illustrate his thought with examples drawn from personal observation or culled from literary works. To disclose the inner truth and beauty of the thought, that to aim high is to be close to the goal, and that the more immediate the reward the further is one removed from the source of that reward, he cites, as analogy, the builders of a boat and the respective relations they bear to it. Those who actually construct it find their task close at hand and receive their reward immediately. But when their duty is done, the boat sails on and knows them not. The same holds true of those who decorate it and furnish its equipment. Not even the captain, who guides and steers its course on the high seas, looks to a more distant goal, and, hence, his relation to it, too, is remote and fleeting. It is only the owner of the boat who has visions of its future profits.[38] Or, when speaking of the enormous personal responsibility of the man who, after having reached a high spiritual level, suddenly plunges into the abysmal depths of sin, he draws a picture of a skilled mechanic who receives choice material with which to fashion some musical instrument. After months of hard application he moulds the material into a perfect product of superb quality and priceless worth. But then, suddenly, in a fit of anger, he flings it to the ground and shatters it into fragments. What has this artisan destroyed? Only bits of material of limited value, indemnification of which would cancel the liability? Has he not rather demolished a perfect, priceless, irreplaceable instrument, the liability for which can scarcely be reduced?[39] Yes, the finer his spirit the more vigilant must one be in preserving its superior quality, for "the finer the cloth, the greater the danger of its being consumed by moth."[40] Hence, the significance of the verse: ואדם ביקר בל ילין נמשל כבהמות נדמו. When man fails to maintain the place of eminence he has attained, he is like the beasts which perish.[41] The music of the spheres, which, with the ancients, Moscato believed to be real, is inaudible to us, because "he who lives near a waterfall is scarcely disturbed by the roar of the down-rushing waters."[42] There are mysteries in God's truth which only frequent contemplation can render comprehensible to us, for

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[33] Ser. 12, p. 34a.

[34] Ser. 48, p. 126a.

[35] Ser. 20, p. 53a.

[36] Ser. 4, p. 10b.

[37] Ser. 4, p. 15a.

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[38] Ser. 4, p. 10b.

[39] Ser. 27, p. 65a.

[40] Ibid., p. 65b.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ser. 1, p. 1b.

"only those accustomed to the sun can endure the fierceness of its glare."[43]

More often the illustrations are borrowed from natural history, legendary lore, mythology, poetry. Gratitude is a virtue deeply imbedded in the nature of all living creatures, for "naturalists tell us that the entrapped elephant will kneel down, in humble appreciation, to the one who releases it from its captivity. They further relate how a tiger, running over a marshy field, once sank into a swamp, in which it would have perished, were it not for the timely help of a man who, attracted by its cry of distress, rushed to its rescue and saved it from a cruel fate; and how the tiger, though ferocious by nature, thenceforth gratefully clung to its deliverer, as if bound to him by ties of purest affection. In one of the history books, I find the story of a soldier who chanced to come upon a young lion, writhing in agony, as a vicious serpent, coiled around its neck, threatened to extinguish its life. Aroused by pity for the lion, the soldier forthwith killed the serpent and thus saved the lion's life. Out of sheer gratitude, the lion refused to leave the soldier but persisted in following him and doing all manner of service for him. The story continues, that when the soldier was about to leave the camp and return, by way of the sea, to his native home, the lion still spurned to part with him. It followed him into the boat and stayed with him through the voyage, until, one day, perceiving that the provisions for its maintenance were falling low, it chose to jump overboard rather than see itself become a burden to its master."[44] To illustrate the thought that philosophy, in itself and for itself, is a weariness to the flesh, having no end and no purpose, he says, after citing the punishment meted out to the Athenians by Rabbi Joshua,[45] that the ceaseless and useless activities of the philosophers remind him of the poet's fancy which makes Sosiphanos, as part of his prescribed duties in Hades, roll a stone to the top of a hill only to see it come down again that he may repeat this endless process; or which makes Danaus, in punishment for the advice he gave his daughters that they kill the sons of Aegyptus when they come to live with them, pour water into a sieve until it gets filled.[46] The eagle symbolizes for him military power, for "in Greek legend we find it told that, when Alexander the Great was born, an eagle was seen flying over the roof of his father's palace, touching in its flight all the points of the compass; thus foreshadowing Alexander's future conquest of the world."[47]

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[43] Ser. 33, p. 87b.

[44] Ser. 21, p. 55b.

[45] Bek. 9a.

But, with Moscato, an illustration is only that which makes truth lustrous; the basis for any given truth he seeks elsewhere, in the realm of fact, or what is recognized as such, and sound reasoning. Once a truth, or a strong presumption in its favor, is firmly established, he employs rhetorical devices to make it impressive. But he frowns upon a method of interpretation which seeks no more valid support for its conclusions than that which mere analogy may afford.[48] There is but one main arsenal from which the Jewish preacher may draw his weapons of offense and defense, though other bases of supply need not, yea, must not be despised or overlooked, and that is the chief repository of Jewish thought, the Bible and the rabbinic Haggadah.[49] Of course, these primary sources await the art of the skilled interpreter. For, he assures us, even as the inner quality of a natural product, of fruit, for example, manifests itself in beauty of appearance and fragrance of scent, so the Torah, of so excellent an inner content, cannot but clothe itself in an external garb of great beauty and splendor. Hence, the literal meaning of a statement, a phrase, a word, when viewed closely, will be seen to contain clear indications of a richer, more potent truth. To neglect the literal is to surrender the key to the secret treasures of the Torah. To wallow in the literal is to abandon the hope of ever penetrating to the glorious panorama it seems to veil from our eyes.[50] That the peculiar construction an individual interpreter puts upon a Biblical passage may not have been contemplated by the author of that passage, argues little against the attempt of the preacher to associate a thought with it which is not contrary to its meaning nor foreign to its spirit. "I do not mean to assert that the Psalmist had Jacob in mind when he composed these particular Psalms. Yet, in them, he does reflect the life, the struggles and sufferings, of Israel, whose prototype Jacob was."[51] Besides, the literal meaning when strictly adhered to often raises difficulties not easily surmounted. How, one may ask, could the Rabbis know, for instance, if we take their statement as an exact historic report, that in the hour of Revelation, not a bird twittered, not a fowl was on the wing, not an ox uttered a bellowing sound? Surely, the Bible would have recorded such an extraordinary phenomenon. Nor can it be said that the cause of faith is much strengthened by the recital of this additional miracle, since it is seen to evoke undisguised doubt as to its authenticity. Obviously, we are concerned here not with a historic fact but with a poetic truth, to be allegorically interpreted. "Let me say this, however, that those who accept this passage in all its literalness may count me among their followers. I am second to none in strength and plenitude of faith. I believe in God's power to do these things, and more. Yet the interpretation I am about to offer will silence all such questions and remove much confusion."[52] And surely, by the interpreter's method, "we may succeed all the better in kindling within the hearts of our people a true love for the Torah, which embraces, and excels, all other wisdom."[53] Moreover, the power exercised by tradition has long sounded the death-knell to the dogma of literalism. Even as staunch a protagonist of its method as Ibn Ezra, who everywhere strives to ascertain the literal meaning, has to admit in the most emphatic manner that, in legal questions at least, without the aid of traditional interpretation, the search for the literal is a hopeless one.[54]

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[46] Ser. 13, p. 37a.

[47] Ser. 26, p. 64b.

[48] Ser. 40, p. 109a אך אמנם אין זה כי אם דבור המשלי בלתי מספיק לסמיכות דעת המשכיל.

[49] Moscato very seldom introduces Halakah in the development of his ideas. When, on some rare occasion, he cites a legal decision, he does so more for the purpose of illustrating his thought than to give authoritative support to it. See Ser. 27, p. 65a.

[50] Ser. 7, p. 21a.

The preacher, then, who would mould Jewish character, must resort to the interpreter's art, when dealing with Biblical statement, Rabbinic utterance, traditional institution, and the like.

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[51] Ser. 2, p. 6a.

[52] Ser. 12, p. 34b.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ser. 9, p. 26a.

Many of the Haggadists, we know, were allegorists, and the preacher who would explore the true meaning of their obscure, enigmatic sayings, must employ the allegorical method. Why they chose to couch their thoughts in such figurative, symbolical language, presents little mystery to us. Some of the Rabbis adopted this mode of expression, because in it they found sufficient mental relaxation from the strenuous, elaborate, prosaic discussions of the Halakah. Others were swayed by pedagogic motives, aiming, in this way, by challenging the mental powers of the students, to sharpen their wits, deepen their impressions, and strengthen their memory, as well as fill them with the joy and exhilaration incident to the successful solution of a literary puzzle, the unravelling of a complicated, but not altogether baffling, allegory.[55] That such a method, offering unbounded latitude to the individual interpreter, may result in too exuberant a growth of diverse, often contradictory interpretations, not always acceptable to clear reason and sound judgment, becomes increasingly evident. But, then, despite our personal opinions and reactions, a broad and benevolent tolerance is dictated by the very limitations of a method so essentially subjective in character. "Many other interpretations have been given, which appear to me extremely unsatisfactory, though I do not undertake to say that the Biblical verse, lending itself to a variety of constructions, may not actually embody and express the various meanings cited, yet rejected, by me."[56]

Moscato, therefore, cognizant of the fact that it is by means of interpretation alone that he could hope to give utterance to the ideas, thoughts and feelings of his teeming mind, approaches his text with the confidence that a beautiful pattern is drawn in its lines, which must be closely scanned to yield the richness of its author's full intent.[57] At times, the minute examination of the text results in nothing more startling than the discovery that a simple religious truth, profound only in its spiritual implications, engages the author's attention. But even the simplest homily Moscato invests with a freshness of form that bespeaks his originality. In analysing as transparent a text as that from the fifteenth Psalm: "He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh truth in his heart," he reveals the clarity and aptness of his homiletical method. Man, he posits, in his life on earth, stands in a threefold relation: to his God, to his fellowman, and to himself. When the Psalmist seeks an answer to the question: "Lord, who shall sojourn in Thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell upon Thy holy mountain?" he is chiefly concerned with defining the nature and scope of man's true relations in life. "He that walketh uprightly," defines his relations to the divine; "and worketh righteousness," his relations to fellowmen; "and speaketh truth in his heart," his relations to himself, signifying that his inner life is not a lie.[58] In most instances, however, Moscato uses the obscure text, whether derived from Biblical or Rabbinic sources, which only by a process of accomodation can be made to suggest the thought of the preacher. "Thy silver has become dross,"[59] expresses for Moscato the whole pathos of our spiritual experience. Man's soul, in its natural and impure state, represents a quantity of silver mixed with dross. Our chief task in life, we vaguely apprehend, is to purge the silver of our soul of its inferior, grosser elements, its dross. But how tragic, when we not only fail to rid the soul of its impurities but defile the very centre of its being, causing the silver itself to turn into dross![60] The haggadic narrative which tells of Rabbi Judah that once as he read from the book of Lamentations and reached the verse: "He hath cast down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Israel,"[61] the book suddenly dropped from his hands,[62] is made to yield the thought that Israel's glory sinks to the earth only when he lets his Book fall to the ground.[63] The story of the Athenian who found a broken mortar in the streets of Jerusalem, and who, when taking it to a tailor for repairs, was informed that, if he could only make a thread out of a handful of sand, his vessel would be sewed together,[64] suggests to Moscato the way Israel's salvation must be secured. The broken mortar symbolizes the Jewish people, broken by oppression and persecution, as does the sand with which Abrahams descendants are compared. Hence, the wisdom of the Jewish tailor: Make me a thread of these grains of sand, unite the scattered remnants of Israel, and I shall repair the broken mortar, heal the wounds of suffering Israel. Through unity and solidarity alone can Israel hope to achieve his final redemption.[65]

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[55] Ser. 13, p. 38a.

[56] Ser. 4, p. 10b.

[57] זהו חמר הדרוש ראוי שנשתדל להמציא בו צורה נאותה כמסת נדבת יד הנותן Ser. 40 p. 108b.

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[58] Ser. 11, p. 32a.

[59] Is. 1.22.

[60] Ser. 27, p. 65b.

[61] Lam. 2.1.

[62] Ḥag. 5b.

[63] Ser. 33, p. 86.

[64] Lam. Rab. 1.8.

It lies in the very nature of the allegorical method that persons, events, institutions, should be made to express something more than is seen on the surface, should become visible symbols of abstract philosophic ideas, qualities of character, or religious sentiments. Thus, Cain represents material sustenance and bodily comfort, while Abel personifies man's natural desires and passions.[66] Abraham embodies pure spirit, while Isaac represents matter. When Isaac submits to the will of Abraham, that is, when matter is willing to be controlled by spirit, then, as in the case of Isaac, it is elevated to the high level occupied by spirit.[67] Naomi symbolizes divine inspiration, so delectable to the soul; Ruth stands for reason, ever nurturing the craving mind; Orpah represents matter, ever rebellious against reason. Hence, when it is written: "And Orpah kissed her mother-in-law and Ruth clave to her,"[68] the truth is emphasized that when matter humbles itself and pays homage to divine inspiration, then reason, too, will reject all lower forms of thought and cleave only to that which emanates from God and His law. The reading of the Book of Ruth on the day commemorating the Revelation of God's truth is, therefore, most appropriate.[69] The three major festivals were instituted in correspondence with the three distinct powers of the soul, רוח, נפש, נשמה, by the first of which is designated the will, ambition; by the second the desire, passion; and by the third the understanding, the seat of wisdom. Passover seeks to curb the נפש, the leaven, the evil desire, of the soul; Shabuoth aims to feed the נשמה, to perfect by means of the Torah the reasoning faculty of the soul and increase its wisdom; Succoth is designed to control the רוח, the ambition, pointing to the truth that all temporal successes come from Him and that only by taking up our abode in the booth, that is, by placing ourselves under His protection, can we hope to endure.[70] מצה symbolizes creation out of nothing. It is original in its composition, whereas חמץ, leavened with yeast, is derivative. Therefore מצה need be eaten only on the first day of Passover, as only on the first day of Creation could there be creation out of nothing, while the abstention from חמץ is imposed by ordinance for the duration of the feast.[71] The four specimens of the products of the earth forming a part of the Succoth ritual: the willow, the myrtle, the palm-branch, the citron, correspond, respectively, to the four elements or powers operating in man: growth, sensation, motion, reason.[72] They may also symbolize peace in its main aspects and relations. The citron, resembling in shape the human heart, stands for peace between man and God, who is called the heart of Israel; the palm-branch, similar in form to the spinal-column, stands for peace within one's self; the myrtle, with its three whorls, typifies peace within one's household, in relation to one's wife, one's children and servants; the willow, because of the luxuriance of its growth, represents social peace, harmonious relations with one's fellow-citizens.[73] The Feast of Succoth falls in the autumn of the year, because it is the season of stormy winds and heavy rains, when dwelling in booths is attended by much personal discomfort, thus inuring us to the practice of reposing our trust in God when untoward conditions surround us. It is also the season of abundance, when our homes are stored with provisions for the winter. At such a time, therefore, when prosperity reigns supreme, the call comes to us to leave our comfortable homes and go forth into the frail booth, to free our minds of all material thoughts, that we may all the better centre our hope and trust in God; for the day when we shall have to relinquish our hold on the things we have amassed, is not far off.[74] Hence the significance of the extemporaneous character of the booth's structure, exposed to all natural elements, accessible to the glow and brilliance of the starry firmament: When we contemplate God's handiwork, we learn that He alone can help and protect us, and that, therefore, in Him alone we should place our trust.[75]

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[65] Ser. 42, p. 127. It is interesting to note how, at times, Moscato applies this allegorical method when interpreting general literature. When Socrates, according to Plato's report, requested that in the hour of his burial, a cock be offered up as a sacrifice to the gods, he meant to indicate, says Moscato, that even as the cock shows, by his timely crowing, that he knows how to distinguish between night and day, so does the intelligent mind glory in his power to distinguish between the darkness of this world and the light of the world to come—Ser. 35, p. 95b.

[66] Ser. 10, p. 29b.

[67] Ser. 34, p. 92a.

[68] Ruth 1.14.

[69] Ser. 9, p. 27a.

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[70] Ser. 10, p. 31a.
[71] Ser. 4, p. 10b.
[72] Ser. 17.
[73] Ser. 52.

It is by such methods that Moscato unfolds the principal thoughts of the central theme of his sermon, reaching the Conclusion with the sureness and dispatch of one whose goal is definitely fixed and whose purpose is never concealed. In the conclusion, he generally contrives to fix in the minds of his hearers the chief points or divisions of the sermon by the use of an effective recapitulation, and to stir to action the will of the audience by a brief but forceful appeal. The recapitulation, which often consists, in addition to a brief summary, of the exposition of a whole Psalm in the light of the truth established in the body of the sermon, showing, by various ingenious adjustments and accomodations, how the particular Psalm comprehends the leading thoughts of the sermon in their logical sequence, reveals an artistry as effective as it is impressive; while the appeal, earnest, dignified, hopeful, exemplifies Moscato's own theory of the primary object of the sermon, which is, to instruct and edify, that Jewish character may be formed by intelligence and sanctified by action.[76]

III

A preacher like Moscato, who roamed through all fields of knowledge in search of material for his sermons, could not be expected to tarry in one place long enough to explore it thoroughly and make disclosures of an original, permanent nature.

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[74] Ser. 36, p. 97a.

[75] Ibid., p. 97b.

[76] See ser. 9, p. 27b; ser. 18, p. 50b; ser. 20, p. 54; ser. 40, p. 111.

His originality lay largely in the field of homiletics. The sermon itself, paradoxically enough, was his chief contribution and main beneficiary. Into it he poured the wealth of his acquired knowledge and of his innate spiritual refinement. Upon it he lavished the exuberant powers of a well-disciplined talent and the luminous insight of a mature experience. Through it his name and fame are forever emblazoned on the pages of our literary history. It is not possible, therefore, to credit Moscato with the formulation of a new system of thought, or with the advancement of a new interpretation of Judaism. In fact, his profound reverence for the past and all that it wrought, precluded the possibility of any departure from the established norms of Jewish thought and belief. Yet, while in the main he gave no fresh impetus to the furtherance of new ideas, he imparted to the thought of his day a new emphasis and clarity, which distinguished him from most of the preachers of his generation and cannot but elicit the interest of those of our own.

Moscato may be described as a philosophic preacher not only because his sermons abound in discussions of problems which have ever engrossed the attention of the various schools in philosophy, but also, and perhaps chiefly, because through his sermons there runs the distinct thread of a definite, positive, comprehensive view of the world and of man's place and duty in it. The external world, in its manifold phases and relations, comes under his scrutinizing gaze, is judiciously evaluated, and given a meaning in consonance with its high origin and sacred uses. For, to Moscato, God's wisdom and power are reflected in nature and in the life of man, and when we study nature and man we are in quest of God. In fact, only such knowledge of God as comes to us from our own researches can kindle in us the pure love of God. For true piety is but the result of our recognition of God's wisdom and power in the world.[77] The preacher's admonition that "God is in heaven and you on earth, therefore shall your words be few,"[78] cannot be construed as a denial to man of the privilege of coming to God by means of the intellect. To the contrary, every man is obliged to search for the evidences of

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[77] Ser. 6, p. 19a.

[78] Eccl. 5.1.

God to the fullest extent of his mental powers, and take all the rest on faith.[79] And "who, with eyes raised heavenward, toward sun, moon, and stars, impressed with the order and regularity of their movements and with the beneficent effects produced on all things, can fail to affirm that a wise God is directing their course?"[80] It is within man's power to plumb the depths of the Infinite. The tendency of some to belittle man because of the material garb in which his spirit is clothed, is much to be deplored. True, man is composed of earth as well as of spirit, but his being suffers transformation even in the material portion of it because of the constant presence within it of pure spirit. For man's soul is not spirit tacked on to matter; it is spirit pervading matter, elevating, purifying and ennobling it in the process.[81]

But while man possesses great gifts which he must learn to respect and to which he must resort in unravelling the mystery of life so as to discover its chief reality, God, it behooves him to remember that, in his essence, he is more than mind, that he is a living soul, and that the soul cannot live on what the intellect feeds. Factual knowledge is powerless to reach the soul. Natural science is subject to too many changes to satisfy our craving for stability. Metaphysics, not being built on positive knowledge, dealing chiefly with hypotheses, offers scant nourishment for the soul. For even when it posits the belief in a First Cause, that belief is vitiated by the doctrine of determinism to which it is so often wedded. The Torah alone contains those life-giving substances requisite for the growth and strength of the soul. It tells us, in a positive way, how the world and all its glorious phenomena came into being, and it sets forth, for our inspiration and guidance, the purest conceptions of life and the loftiest rules of human conduct, which alone can properly sustain the soul.[82] The world seems to be diligently engaged in discovering new avenues of escape from the perplexing problems of life. And so, there are those who seek refuge in the philosophy of materialism. Others court the delights of the imagination.

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[79] Ser. 4, p. 12a.

[80] Ser. 1, p. 1b.

[81] Ser. 34, p. 91.

[82] Ser. 13, p. 36b.

Many more flee to reason for shelter. But all of them seem to forget that the walls behind which they seek protection are themselves tottering and ready to fall. "There are wings to the earth," but the senses are woefully inadequate for our most essential needs. "There are wings to the dawn," but the flights of the imagination take us neither high enough nor far enough to satisfy the aspiring soul. "There are wings to the sun," but reason, though enlightening, is not always infallible. Only those who labor in the Torah and find their delight in a life of good deeds, have discovered the true haven of rest and peace, for they have chosen to stand under the protecting wings of the Shekinah.[83]

Secular knowledge alone is incapable of leading us to the highest truth, God. It deals with the things that, despite their practical importance, are essentially trivial and evanescent.[84] The Torah alone and the life it prescribes can endow us with wings to fly unto God.[85] Algebra, geometry, astronomy, music, political science, metaphysics—theirs is the light of the moon, a borrowed light; the light of the Torah is the light of the sun, original and capable of an ever-increasing brightness.[86]

Of course, we must learn to distinguish between what is true and what is false in the teachings of philosophers. Spurious philosophers there are aplenty, who lead the people astray with their fallacious reasoning and unfounded theories. These are the men who propagate ideas and views that are frequently as filthy as they are false.[87] But there are also true philosophers, who approximate in their thinking the eternal truths of religion, between whom and the leaders of Jewish thought a covenant of peace has long been established, insuring harmony and friendly cooperation.[88] For, be it remembered, true philosophy is never the foe, but always the friend, of religion. When science and philosophy stand forth in all their soundness and purity, they are seen to be willing handmaids of religion, faithfully following the wise direction of theology, their recognized mistress.[89] In a word, what is true in philosophy is never in opposition to the Torah. Plato's philosophic truths, for example, tend only to confirm the tenets of Judaism and the teachings of our sages.[90] In fact, it would be difficult to discover a well-supported truth in philosophy that has not been anticipated in the writings of our ancient teachers.[91] It is the unsound reasoning of some philosophers that is responsible for the seeming conflicts and contradictions between philosophy and religion.[92]

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[83] Ser. 13, p. 37a.

[84] Ser. 14, p. 39a.

[85] Ser. 13, p. 36b.

[86] Ser. 14, p. 41b.

[87] Ibid., 38b.

[88] Ibid., 39b.

[89] Ibid., 39a.

But while the sober thought of the earnest seeker after truth, the true philosopher, presents no menace and no difficulty to the theological affirmations of religion, the weapons of philosophy may, at best, only support the position of religion, defending its conclusions, vindicating its doctrines; they cannot safeguard the sacred source whence all true religion ultimately flows. Reason is powerless to support and guide us when we are groping in the dark; we need a flash from above, a higher light, to illumine our path.[93] And only when our souls are purged of all impurities can we hope to receive the divine influences perpetually hovering over the human mind.[94] Reason, to be sure, can be of great service to us in helping us buttress the spiritual life, but not until it has been purified and ennobled by lofty ethical conduct. The service of God, which is man's chief function in life, gets its greatest stimulus from our knowledge of right and wrong, ethics, not from the wisdom born of ratiocination, philosophy.[95] Let us strive after thought and understanding, let us probe every prescribed act with our reason, but then let us do the deed. Perfection, spiritual happiness, cannot be produced by the one or the other but by both combined.[96] Even a school dedicated to Jewish learning will fail of its higher purpose when it seeks to instil only knowledge into its students. Unless the study of truth leads to its enactment in practical life, and the knowledge of principles to their uncompromising observance in our daily relations, yea, unless piety is the goal of all instruction, the institution cannot endure.[97] Knowledge can add little to the soul's contentment, even were we to make personal happiness our chief goal, unless the impulse to impart it to others is strong upon us.[98] For, "we have not been brought into the world to serve our own selfish interests; we live largely for the good and happiness of our fellowmen."[99] It is in the service of others that we find justification for our existence and discover new vigor and zest for the tasks of life. Man is a fleeting shadow, a vanishing echo, until the quest of self-perfection, supplemented by the earnest pursuit after group-perfection, crowns his name with an unfaded memory.[100] Therefore, "let every God-fearing man endeavor to reach a high spiritual level, never allowing himself to be dislodged therefrom; and that eminence, once attained, will serve him as a high, fortified, tower whither he might safely retreat and feel himself exalted."[101]

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[90] Ser. 8, p. 21b.

[91] Ser. 5, p. 18—This claim of Moscato that true knowledge can be traced to one common source, the Torah, frequently leads him to make some very amusing assumptions. The *simile*, for example, is no doubt derived from משל (Ser. 31, p. 76b); the doctrine of the heavenly spheres, as well as its verbal designation, may owe its origin to the Biblical verse ברוחו שמים שפרה, (Ibid., p. 79a); the term *music* may be traced to אל יחסר המזג, while the Greek word *kalliope* is so strikingly similar to the Hebrew expression קול יפה that the former may well have been derived from the latter (Ser. 1, p. 1b).

[92] Ser. 14, p. 39a.

[93] Ser. 9, p. 26b.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ser. 18, p. 50b.

The ethical life, however, from the standpoint of pure religion, must be motivated by a desire to do the will of God, so that we may become at one with Him. It must flow from a sense of deep-seated reverence, of unbounded faith in God. "Fear God," must precede and result in the inevitability of "and keep His commandments;" the one must be the clear outcome of the other.[102] This is the whole of religion. The chief purpose of the study and observance of the Law is to prove thereby our willing submission to the divine will. "All that the Lord hath spoken will we do, and obey,"[103] that is, we will do in order that we may testify to our obedience. Without this sense of obedience, the deed loses its spiritual meaning and value.[104] And only when by the aid of divine guidance, as afforded in the Torah, we have mastered the impulses to evil and cultivated genuine humility, are we capable of attaining that degree of truthfulness and faith which exalts and strengthens the spirit and fills it with the truth and peace of surpassing worth.[105] Then the lower as well as the higher energies of our nature, spiritualized by this their dedication to the service of God, lift us heavenward; the light that suffuses our being attracts, draws down, as it were, the light from above. Our hearts, in tune with the Infinite, vibrate with heavenly music.[106] To put it graphically, God, the absolute unity, may be likened to the indivisible point at the centre of a circle, whose radii represent human souls in their striving after union with God. The radius reaches and touches the centre because, itself composed of indivisible points linked together, it joins, in the last point of the series, the point at the centre, like fusing with like. We, too, can unite with the absolute One through the unification and harmonization of the spiritual forces within us, such as the Torah alone is able to effect. When by the aid of the Torah, we have attained perfect harmony in our inner life and in our relations with those about us, we become spiritual entities, in essence like God, capable, with God's active help, of merging into His being. The Psalmist gave notable expression to this thought when he said: קוה קויתי ה' ויט אלי וישמע שועתי I drew a radius (קו) toward the point at the centre, which is God, and He leaned toward me, coming forth, as it were, to meet me; He heard my cry, my soul's cry for union with Him.[107] This may also be the underlying thought of the rabbinic story which tells how Onias the Circle-Drawer once, in time of drought, placed himself at the centre of a circle which he had drawn and called on God to answer his prayers for rain. It was as if, standing there at the centre of the circle, he had said: "I entreat Thee with my prayers, and expect an answer to my plea, for I have achieved perfect union with Thee."[108]

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[97] Ser. 16, p. 44a.

[98] הקדמה.

[99] Ser. 52, p. 135a.

[100] Ser. 32, p. 82a.

[101] Ser. 27, p. 67a.

[102] Ser. 32, p. 83a.

[103] Ex. 24.7.

[104] Ser. 14, p. 39a.

In fact, the essential aim of the Torah is to effect the complete union of our souls with God. It stresses the life of the spirit and seeks to purge the soul of all grossness and the evil that defiles, because, in the words of scripture: ואדם אין לעבוד את האדמה ואד יעלה מן הארץ; when man has divested himself of all crude, material notions and desires, he becomes like an ethereal vapor, ascending godward.[109] It also enjoins upon us the frequent use of prayer, because the word תפלה, which may be derived from פתל, to twist, entwine, signifies the soul's fusion with God through devout and earnest prayer.[110] Hence the need of כונה in prayer, for unless prayer is the sincere and wholehearted expression of our yearning for God, unless it voices a genuine inner feeling, an actual soul-experience, it degenerates into the vain repetition of the parrot, the unintelligible chirping of the bird, meaningless and void of efficacy.[111] Our prayers are peculiarly effective, helping the soul to wing itself aloft unto God, when they are the utterance of a heart vibrant with emotion, when they are saturated with our tears.[112]

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[105] Ser. 36, p. 96a.

[106] Ser. 46, p. 122.

[107] Ser. 31, p. 77b

[108] Ibid.

Moscato, as we can readily see, was a mystic at heart, who was drawn to mysticism by the natural proclivities of his mind. His fondness of, and deep reverence for, the Cabala, at times so puzzling to those accustomed to the lucidity of his thought and the cogency of his reasoning, may have been the result, rather than the cause, of his overwhelming fascination for the hidden, the mysterious, the unexplored, in the realm of religious truth and experience. For despite his protests that he means to steer clear, in his sermons, of the enigmatic and abstruse,[113] he frequently indulgences in cabalistic hermeneutics,[114] and discovers symbolic meanings in Jewish ritual and custom, equal to any found in the זהר.[115] In fact, he bemoans the gradual decline of our interest in the Cabala and its mystical interpretations. Behind the written word of the Torah, he insists, there may be always found a secret meaning. There is an aperture, as it were, a tiny window, in the sacred word through which the initiate can see and behold mysteries not visible on top.[116] But, alas! "for these many centuries, there has been a noticeable deterioration in the power to penetrate into the hidden mysteries of the Torah. And today, sad to say, on the ladder we have been gradually descending, we have reached the lowest rung. Our eyes have grown so dim that we can barely see through them. The plain people perish for want of insight, which the leaders seem unable to supply. Yet, we are confident, the day is not far off when, along the stream of wisdom, there will spring up once again those goodly trees bearing fruit that will bring healing to the soul."[117]

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[109] Ibid., p. 81a.

[110] Ibid., p. 78a.

[111] Ser. 20, p. 54a.

[112] Ser. 45, p. 121a.

[113] כי אין לנו עסק בנסתרות לפי כונת הדרוש—Ser. 51, p. 132a.

[114] Cf. Ser. 31, p. 80a–81a, also Ser. 51, p. 132a.

[115] Cf. Ser. 37.

[116] צהר תעשה לתיב"ה Ser. 7, p. 21a.

His own mystic bent, together with his excessive preoccupation with the literature of mysticism, must have rendered him susceptible to the visions, the hallucinations, to which medieval mystics seem to have been subject. In one instance at least, in a memorial sermon, he apostrophizes the deceased, whom he loved and revered in life, in the following words: "I remember a dream I dreamed only nine days after your death. You appeared to me as you were when lying prostrate on your bed of pain, in the last throes of your struggle with death. I approached your bed and craved your final blessing, which you graciously granted me by laying your hands upon me. I then beheld you arise and begin to ascend a gigantic ladder, a ladder reared upon the earth but reaching up unto heaven, on which you soon disappeared as do all the noble souls of the departed."[118]

But, it should be remembered, while he sanctions, and himself frequently employs, the usual methods of the mystical writers in interpreting scripture figuratively in order to reveal its deeper spiritual significance, he deprecates the tendency to view Biblical statements with which certain religious rites have long been associated, as pure figures of speech. There are those, he bewails the fact, who read the Bible as secular literature and who therefore attempt to interpret as figurative the passage, for example, on which the injunction concerning the phylacteries is based, thus striving by sheer adroitness to exempt themselves from the duty of observing practices clearly indicated in the Law. They seem to think that the foundations of our faith are unstable, volatile. "They float on the surface of the Torah, as if it were a liquefied, flowing substance, with nothing in it that is solid, permanently fixed and deeply rooted."[119] These wilful "nullificationists" are excelled in their treacherous designs only by those who outwardly profess to accept all the principles and practices the Torah enjoins upon us but inwardly harbor most flagrant unbelief. All such vile hypocrites, who lurk in secret places to lure the innocent away from the path of faith, should be shunned by all as dangerous to the integrity and stability of our religion.[120]

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[117] Ibid.

[118] Ser. 33, p. 89b—Of course, it may well be that he was not reciting what appeared to him as an actual personal experience, but was merely employing a familiar oratorical device to heighten the dramatic effect of the particular occasion.

The supreme duty of suffering Israel is to cleave to the Torah, to cherish its teachings and to live in accordance with its precepts. "And even though, as wanderers, we walk through the valley of the shadow of death, for thousands of years to come, we should never cease to treasure the Torah, our sacred heritage; for it is our only comfort in affliction."[121] Israel is the eternal people. We have suffered untold hardships, but God will redeem us in the end. The time of our redemption may be fixed, but it is not unalterable. The power is given us to hasten the coming of the dawn, when the gloom that envelopes us will be dissipated.[122] We must fight our way to light and freedom, not with weapons of steel, but with implements of the spirit. "In these days of dense darkness, it behooves us to lift up our voices in earnest prayer to the God on high; for prayer is our only weapon of defence against the harassing forces of darkness. Surely, the light of day will soon shine upon us."[123] In fact, it is this emphasis on the spirit that separates Israel from the nations of the earth. The nations of the world depend for their glory and prosperity on temporal power, on political supremacy; Israel wins exaltation through the perfection of the Torah and the possession of true knowledge. The nations of the world become reduced in their status through loss of political power; Israel suffers deterioration

[119] Ser. 7, p. 21a.
[120] Ser. 4, p. 15a.
[121] Ser. 21, p. 57b.
[122] Ser. 51, p. 133b.
[123] Ser. 44, p. 120b.

only when the light of truth begins to wane, and ignorance and folly dominate the horizon.[124] We are designated as a kingdom of priests; and inasmuch as "the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth," the citizens composing our kingdom must be filled with wisdom, must be supreme masters of the Torah. This is the sole qualification of Israel for the tasks laid upon him; in its deficiency lies our downfall.[125]

IV

A contemporary of Moscato, Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen, of Padua and Venice, in a sermon dedicated to Moscato's memory,[126] deplores the perverseness of the times which makes people eager to listen to haggadic dissertations but loath to follow halachic discussions. They "spurn the substantial food that nourishes and strengthens, and hanker after the delicacies, the sweet tid-bits, that titillate the palate but leave the body unfed."[127] He then commends the skilled preacher who, like the physician, tries to conceal the acrid flavor of the medicine that heals underneath a sugary crust that gratifies the taste. In such a passage, one may discern a veiled criticism, as well as a bold extenuation, of Moscato's style and method of preaching. For, certain it is that Moscato parted company with the majority of the preachers of his day. His aim was not theirs; the technique and content of his sermons could, at best, excite the admiration, not the emulation, of his contemporaries. He blazed a new path in Jewish homiletics, which only preachers of subsequent generations could recognize and follow.

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[124] Ser. 33, p. 85b.

[125] Ibid.

[126] שנים עשר דרושים. Warsaw 1875.

[127] Ser. 3, p. 20b.

MENDELSSOHN AS TRANSLATOR AND EXEGETE

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THE bi-centenary of the birth of Moses Mendelssohn invites evaluation of his rich and achieving life. The measure of a man's greatness is not to be taken by the beneficent but fugitive influence he exercised on his own day, but, rather, by the degree in which he affected the learning, thinking and life of subsequent generations. Measured by this standard, Mendelssohn's greatness is not primarily as a philosopher, even though in his own day he was acclaimed as the German Plato or Socrates. Time has an infallible way of revealing the passing and permanent elements of greatness in a man. This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that five years ago, when Immanuel Kant's bi-centenary occurred, he was memorialized as an outstanding philosopher throughout the world of learning, whereas Mendelssohn, who was crowned victor over Kant by the Berlin Academy for the best essay submitted on a metaphysical theme, has been forgotten qua philosopher, except in some Jewish circles.

If we are agreed that Mendelssohn's most significant contribution to the Jew inheres in that phase of his activity that affected the Jew most profoundly and permanently, then it may rightly be said that his influence as translator and exegete is paramount. Did his noble life inspire the gospel of tolerance as proclaimed in Lessing's immortal *Nathan the Wise*, that gospel exercised only a limited and passing influence, seeing that tolerance was more honored in the breach than in the observance. Did his eloquent words plead the justice of civil emancipation for the Jew, his plea was but one of many influences that ultimately achieved Jewish civil emancipation years after Mendelssohn's death. It is true that every great spirit speaks throughout the ages. Yet, when we commemorate the life of one who profoundly affected countless lives, our first task should be to determine, so far as possible, what aspect of his life it was that left an identifiable and continuing influence which entered into the mental, spiritual and cultural make-up of later generations.

There can be no doubt that Mendelssohn introduced a new cultural era for the Jew, that paved the way for inevitable developments in his social and religious life. What work of Mendelssohn's was it that brought about that new era for the Jew? Unquestionably it was his translation of the Torah into German.[1] It first laid siege to, and ultimately broke down the walls of the intellectual ghetto in which the Jew had lived for centuries. It proved to be the open sesame to a knowledge of the German language. This knowledge made available to the Jew the rich store-house of German literature and learning, which, in turn gave to many a new intellectual outlook. A new mental orientation involved necessarily a new approach to Jewish sacred literature. Thus indirectly and, as will be seen, also directly, Mendelssohn introduced a new era in the study and understanding of the Bible. We can appreciate to what extent he was a spiritual Columbus to an ever increasing number of Jews in Germany and in other lands, only as we understand something of the low estate into which Biblical study per se had fallen.

Biblical exegesis began as soon as the Torah was considered to be the perfect and complete God-given law of Israel. It eventuated largely in halakic deductions and midrashic interpretations. These, in a way, truly and effectively served the spiritual needs of the people. For centuries there was no such thing as a running commentary on the text of the Bible, giving what was presumably the primary meaning of the text. The study of the Bible for its own sake began to come into its own with the translating and exegetic activity of Saadya. But a true, scientific exegesis is unattainable without a correct understanding of the structure of the Hebrew language. Judah b. David Ḥayyuj in the tenth century made a profound discovery in respect of the triliteral character of the Hebrew root—a discovery so important as to be characterized by Ibn Ezra as a divine revelation. It made possible the remarkable grammar and dictionary of Jonah ibn Janaḥ. The progress achieved in Hebrew grammar, lexicography and comparative philology made possible the development of a more scientific exegesis, as exemplified, for instance, by the commentaries of Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Ḳimḥis. Biblical exegesis made great forward strides, first in Spain, then in southern and northern France. The Jewish exegetes anticipated by centuries many of the interpretations found in the latest critical commentaries. Questions involving higher criticism, duplicate narratives, divergencies in statement touching the same subject matter, and, even the possibility of later textual insertions, are not modern discoveries. The explanations of the old Jewish exegetes may not always be convincing to the modern student, but no one intimately familiar with their work can deny that in great measure, they admirably succeeded in getting at the primary meaning of the text, often, through a happy intuition that made up for the lack of an adequate knowledge of the sciences ancillary to exegesis. Truly, a notable achievement this, when we keep in mind how entrenched were the century-old non-Peshaṭic interpretations found in rabbinic literature. By the thirteenth century the Biblical books had received thorough and systematic exegetic treatment by various authors whose professed purpose was the presentation of the Peshaṭ.

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[1] Mendelssohn himself believed that the translation and commentary would serve as the first step towards gaining the culture which his people lacked. Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn*, 1st ed. 1862, letter no. 30, p. 522.

But, for reasons which we need not here consider, there gradually developed, on the one hand, an all-absorbing interest in esoteric wisdom, and, on the other, a one-sided study of the Talmud. This resulted in a study of the Bible not as an end in itself but, rather, as a means of giving scriptural justification to a system of thought or of practice. The search for the Peshaṭ was no longer the dominant motive in the study of the Torah. The primary meaning of a text became the incidental or accidental element in the prevailing types of exegesis. Cabbalism and Talmudism well nigh routed the tendency towards a direct interpretation of the text. The period from the early thirteenth century to Mendelssohn might be called the Dark Age for Peshaṭic exegesis. There were, of course, a few exegetes and grammarians who carried on the finer traditions of the golden age of Jewish exegesis, but their followers were far out-numbered by those for whom the Cabbala or the Talmud constituted the sole field of spiritual or intellectual pursuit.

The method and content of the education that the young received, gave no promise of a development that would lead to a sound study of Scripture as an end itself—a method that might have served as an antidote to the unfortunate effects produced by the unscientific methods of biblical exegesis in vogue. One is inclined to wonder to what degree the spiritual development and outlook in Israel during the Middle Ages would have been different had the Peshaṭic tendency in exegesis been further developed and made the common possession of the people. Certain it is that, had the simple exegesis of Scripture been dominant, much that was bizarre and unwholesome, spiritually deadening or producing spiritual rampage, would never have been able to captivate so many minds.

Mendelssohn's translation together with the accompanying commentary had a revolutionary effect upon the education of young and old. It created a new trend in the study of the Torah, by reclaiming and popularizing in easy and fluent Hebrew the best that had been achieved by the foremost Jewish exegetes of the Middle Ages. Naphthali Herz Wessley was convinced that the new work would serve as "a path and highway to the teachers of children" by which they would lead their charges to a true understanding of the Torah.[2] Undoubtedly the translation and the commentaries that Mendelssohn himself composed, and caused others to compose, proved to be an inestimable boon to many a teacher engaged in primary education. The importance of Mendelssohn's work in the history of the education of the Jewish youth must not be overlooked.

Mendelssohn, in his Introduction to the Pentateuchal translation and commentary, informs his readers that he translated the Pentateuch for the benefit of his own children.[3] He was their first teacher. He taught them the translation "sometimes word for word and sometimes according to the sense and context." When Solomon Dubno, who was engaged as a teacher in the home of Mendelssohn, read the translation, he was so much impressed with the service that it could render to pupils in general, that he urged Mendelssohn to publish it. Mendelssohn agreed to do so only on condition that Dubno would compose a commentary "easily understood by every reader," and that he would indicate in his commentary why the translator in his translation gave preference to one of several interpretations of the early exegetes, or why, when ignoring them all, he gave an interpretation of his own as justified by the Hebrew idiom and context. Mendelssohn assured Dubno that he would assist him as far as possible in the composition and writing of that commentary. Mendelssohn probably had a two-fold purpose in making the condition referred to. The first was to justify to the reader his particular or peculiar rendering of a passage that might not seem to be acceptable without some explanation, and the second, to make available for general use a commentary that would give the simple or primary meaning of the text that had been lost to the masses by reason of current types of exegesis, in which the Peshaṭ was the incidental and not the fundamental quest.

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[2] מהלל ריע printed with first edition, p. 4b.

[3] The Introduction in the first edition in my possession is unpaginated, hence, reference to page cannot be given.

How widely the translation and commentary were read and studied cannot be gauged.[4] But, it can be said that it met a great popular need, if we are to judge by the eagerness and rapidity with which a school of exegetes, known as the Biurists, carried on the work of translating and commenting on the rest of the Bible, in the very spirit and method of Mendelssohn and his collaborators, and by the number of times that the Mendelssohn Torah edition itself was reprinted. It found its way even into parts of Europe where Mendelssohn's work was looked upon with disfavor. The translation was acclaimed even in Christian circles, among others by J. C. Doederlein, an eminent divine in Mendelssohn's day, who questioned "whether such a noble translation, so faithful and correct, had ever been rendered by a Christian."[5]

When we read that it was placed under the ban by a few leaders, or actively opposed by many, we are prompted to ask why there was any opposition to it.[6] Surely it could not be on the ground of any heterodox tendencies discerned in it, for both translation and commentary reflect in every detail strictly traditional views. It was, undoubtedly, due to the fact that the translation was in pure German, a knowledge of which, it was felt instinctively, would bring the Jew into contact with the non-Jewish literature and culture of the day.[7] And this, to many, was tantamount to inviting heresy into the camp of Israel. Had Mendelssohn issued the commentary without a translation in pure German, undoubtedly not the slightest objection to it would or could have been raised. Nay, it would have been eagerly welcomed even in those circles, in which the projected translation and commentary were attacked, so soon as specimen pages thereof appeared. Mendelssohn was not a creative or bold exegete, but rather a splendid builder.[8] Taking the best of the grammatical and exegetic material that had been produced in the centuries before him, he built a structure in which even the most orthodox could find nothing that was anti-traditional. We must conclude, therefore, that it was only the translation of the sacred Torah into a language that was profane to the ear unaccustomed to it, and the instinctive fear of what such a translation might lead to, that aroused such strenuous opposition. But, as familiarity with the German became diffused in Jewry, the popularity of Mendelssohn's German translation increased until it became well nigh canonical.

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[4] 750 advance subscriptions were received; 47 from England, Holland and France, 56 from Poland, the remainder from residents of Germany. Zunz, *G. V.*^{2} p. 467.

[5] Kayserling, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., 1888, p. 318.

If it is true that the translation prepared thc way for reforms in Judaism, it is equally true that Mendelssohn himself had not the slightest thought of being the paver of the way to reform.

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[6] *Vid.* Graetz, *Geschichte*,^{3} vol. XI, pp. 48, 49 and note, p. 591.

[7] Graetz (*ibid.*) would have us believe that it was the collaboration of Homberg, who was under suspicion of being estranged from Judaism, that caused the entire work to be discredited. He also states that Mendelssohn felt himself compelled to turn to Homberg for help in completing the commentary, even though he was not altogether congenial to him. I question whether either of these opinions is justified. At any rate the correspondence contradicts the latter of the two opinions.

[8] Geiger's general characterization is applicable here: " . . . denn Mendelssohn war ein feiner Bildner, aber kein mächtiger Schöpfer." *Nach. Schr.*, separate reprint from vol. II, p. 204.

Indeed, his conviction that Judaism is a divinely revealed legislation that cannot be abrogated by man, would of necessity have compelled him to oppose any religious innovations, had such been attempted in his day. That his translation should have been the unintentioned means of fertilizing the soil for reforms, such as fruited in the following century, is one of the classic ironies of fate. Graetz, speaking of Mendelssohn's translation writes, "The inner freedom of the Jews . . . dates from this translation."[9] This statement is somewhat misleading. It was rather the beginning of the cultural freedom of the Jew. The translation itself offered not the slightest justification for that inner freedom that assumes the right of departing from tradition. Mendelssohn's translation had a purpose the very opposite to that of Luther. The latter made his rendering a few years after he had broken with papal authority. To Luther, the Bible, and not the Pope, was henceforth to be the source of authority in religion. Luther's translation, therefore, was, in effect, an instrument to strengthen the reformation. Mendelssohn's translation, on the other hand, was not conceived in the thought of breaking with, or justifying the slightest departure from authoritative tradition.

Inasmuch as the part that Mendelssohn contributed to the Torah commentary is not completely or accurately presented in the references to his exegetic activity, I deem it necessary to give all the facts as they are stated by Mendelssohn himself in his Introduction.[10] He is the author of the commentary on the first *Parashah* of the Book of Genesis, to which Dubno added parenthetically some grammatical remarks. The commentary on the rest of Genesis is from the pen of Dubno; the parenthetical portions contain material given by Mendelssohn to Dubno.[11] The commentary on Exodus is by Mendelssohn; the bracketed material, largely grammatical, was contributed by Dubno. Naphthali Herz Wessley is the author of the commentary on Leviticus. Wessley graciously permitted Mendelssohn to take issue with him on any interpretation. The points at issue were indicated in parenthetical notes giving Mendelssohn's view over against that of Wessley. With regard to the commentaries on the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, Mendelssohn writes, "I was aided in the interpretation of these books by other men, who, by reason of their great modesty, did not permit me to reveal their names." It is known, however, that Aaron Jaroslaw commented on the fourth and Herz Homberg on the fifth book of the Pentateuch. The words "I was aided" certainly imply that they were collaborators, and not the exclusive authors of the commentaries generally ascribed to them.[12] Mendelssohn's exegetic hand, therefore, is to be found in the commentary on every book of the Pentateuch. This, together with a commentary by him on Ecclesiastes,[13] his earliest essay in the field of exegesis, represents the extent of his exegetic work. From his Introduction to his commentary on Ecclesiastes[14] we learn that he had planned to compose commentaries also on the books of Psalms, Proverbs and Job, if the one on Ecclesiastes would be favorably received. We must infer that either the commentary did not have a sufficiently popular appeal, or that illness or new interests and demands on his time changed his plans, for the projected commentaries never appeared. His translations of the Song of Deborah, the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the Song of Songs represent his biblical translating activity.[15]

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[9] Graetz, *ibid.* p. 50.

[10] Entitled אור לנתיבה.

[11] Genesis, pub. 1780; Exodus, 1781; Leviticus, 1782; Numbers and Deuteronomy, 1783. The entire work bears the title ספר נתיבות שלום.

Before giving the contents of his interesting Introduction to the Pentateuchal work and discussing the character of his translation and exegesis, I deem it necessary to refer to one added feature of the Mendelssohn edition of the Pentateuch, even though Mendelssohn himself had no part in it. It may have been suggested by him; it certainly had his most hearty approval by reason of its great textual-critical value. I refer to the *Tikkun Soferim*, a massoretic commentary by Dubno on the text of Genesis and Exodus, and by S. Meseritz on the text of the other

[12] Mendelssohn informs us in his Introduction that Dubno had left behind some unrevised commentary fragments on Numbers. Homberg, according to Kayserling (*ibid.*[2] p. 316) composed the commentary on the middle chapters of Deuteronomy and Mendelssohn on the remainder of the book.

[13] Pub. 1770.

[14] Closing words.

[15] The Song of Deborah, pub. 1780; The Psalms, 1783. Song of Songs was published posthumously 1788.

books. This commentary, according to Mendelssohn's testimony, contains, in the main, material found in the massoretic works known as *Seyag la-Torah*,[16] *'Or Torah*,[17] and *Minḥat Shai*.[18] The vast amount of massoretic material thus brought together could not but develop a critical spirit, touching textual variants, vocalization and accentuation, in those who became interested in reading the *Tikkun Soferim*. It made available important textual material that hitherto had been neglected. Mendelssohn clearly recognized the need and the value of such a commentary, for he writes, "we cannot rely on the printed Massorah, because of the many corruptions in it." Mindful of the importance of having a correct text, Mendelssohn, writing to August von Hennigs, Danish state-councilor, shortly before the first part of the Pentateuch edition appeared, expressed the belief and the hope that at least the text would be one of the most correct.[19] Incidentally, his appreciation of the importance of having a good text, rabbinic as well as biblical, prompts him to remark with evident satisfaction, that, in addition to the three massoretic works that served as the principal sources for the *Tikkun Soferim*, Dubno was able to consult a very good parchment manuscript of Rashi's commentary, on the margin of which there was a part of the Massorah that proved to be valuable for establishing some correct readings. This manuscript, Mendelssohn tells us, came to him as a gift from Seligman of Koenigsberg. He also rejoices in the possession of another parchment manuscript of Rashi and Rashbam that had been in Jablonski's library, and from which the editio princeps of Rashbam was printed.[20] Mendelssohn evidently carefully compared the printed text of Rashbam with the manuscript, for he calls attention to the fact that many mistakes were made in the printed edition, even to the extent of the omission of a number of lines found in the manuscript copy. The manuscripts in Mendelssohn's possession, aided him, according to his own testimony, in getting at the correct reading of the *la'azim* in the Rashi commentary, which he found to be woefully corrupt in the printed texts. And furthermore, with the aid of them he was enabled to restore correct readings in the Rashi text. Such corrections Mendelssohn indicates every now and then in his own commentary. These facts, recorded by Mendelssohn in his Introduction, reveal in him a textual critical feeling that was developed in others through the textual notes found in the commentary and especially in the *Tikkun Soferim*, still valuable to students of the Massorah.

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[16] By Meir b. Todros, 13th cent., Berlin ed., 1761.

[17] By Menahem de Lonzano, 16th cent., Berlin ed. 1745.

[18] By Solomon Jedidiah Norzi. Flourished latter half of 16th and first quarter of 17th cent., editio princeps 1742–44.

[19] Letter no. 32, p. 527 in Kayserling, *op. cit.*, 1st ed., p. 527.

[20] Daniel E. Jablonski, German Christian theologian and Orientalist, d. in Berlin 1741. His Hebrew printing-press pub. 1st ed. of Rashbam. *Vid. R. Samuel b. Meir als Schrifterklärer*, D. Rosin, pp. 30, 37 note 5.

In the first section of his lengthy Introduction, Mendelssohn deals with the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch. He accepts that talmudic view which holds that Moses wrote also the last eight verses of the Torah. He likewise discusses and agrees with the talmudic view that Hebrew was the language in which God spoke to Adam, the patriarchs, Moses and the prophets. He sets forth how it came about that the Torah was spared the textual corruptions that befell all profane writings. Yet, cognizant of the variants in the codices of Ben Asher and Ben Naftali, he holds them to be few and immaterial, and never affecting the meaning of the text. He treats at length the question of the origin of the vowels, accents and cantillation signs. In connection with these several themes, he quotes copiously the passages in the Talmud that refer to them or were believed to have reference to them.[21] He also cites writers like Azariah dei Rossi and Elijah Levita. The latter's well-known view of the post-talmudic origin of the vowels he mentions only to reject. The next section of the Introduction deals with the subject of "Translations." He discusses at length the history and the character of the several Aramaic and Greek translations. He seems to have drawn much of his material from dei Rossi's *Me'or 'Enayim*. He speaks of Saadya's Arabic version, of the Persian rendering by Jacob b. Joseph Tawos. He refers to the Paris and London Polyglotts and

[21] Solomon Maimon, who had reason to know Mendelssohn, and whose criticism of others was generally dour, devoted an entire chapter of his autobiography in high praise of Mendelssohn. He referred to him as being well versed in talmudic literature. Hebr. Transl. 1899, p. 81.

to the variants and corruptions that are found in the versions as printed in these Polyglotts. He acknowledges his indebtedness for his knowledge concerning these to J. G. Eichhorn's *Introduction to the Old Testament*. His reference to Eichhorn is interesting in that it shows that he consulted the very latest literature, even though from the pen of a Christian author. Eichhorn's *Einleitung* appeared in parts in the very years that Mendelssohn's edition was appearing.[22] Mendelssohn then mentions a Spanish translation of unknown authorship. In connection with the translations that he discusses or mentions, he is careful to give the year and place of first publication and sometimes of the subsequent editions. In the case of the Spanish rendering, after giving bibliographical details concerning it, his esthetic appreciation of books prompts him to record with reference to a certain large format edition of it, that "no book ever printed can compare with it in the magnificence of its make-up."

Our interest naturally centers on what Mendelssohn has to say of the Judaeo-German translations technically known as "Teutsch-Ḥummash." The first to be mentioned is that of "the great grammarian Elijah Bahur (Levita), who translated the Torah and the Megillot into German, word for word, and it was printed in Constance, Switzerland in 1544." As Levita made no translation of these books, Mendelssohn probably had reference to the translation now generally accredited to Michael Adam, printed in the year and place given by Mendelssohn for the supposed Levita translation. Mendelssohn tells us that he himself never saw this translation but found reference to it in the Introduction to the translation of the Bible by Jekuthiel Blitz, published in 1679.[23] The latter had criticized "Levita's" rendering most severely. Mendelssohn, in turn, applies the same criticism to the translation of Blitz. Mendelssohn writes, "If his intention was good . . . his work is not at all acceptable, for the reason that he did not understand the nature of the Hebrew language, nor the essence of its style; and, what he did understand, he translated in a language extremely awkward and corrupt. The reader who knows how to speak pure German will abhor it."[24] Mendelssohn mentions without comment also the German translation of the entire Bible by Joseph Witzenhausen, the first edition of which, he says, appeared in 1679 and the second in 1687. There is no translation into idiomatic German, Mendelssohn continues, and, therefore, there are those who use Christian translations to meet their need. This Mendelssohn deems unfortunate, because he felt that Christian translators paid no heed to the Massorah, disregarded the vowels and accents, and even letters, thus making the words of the Torah like a breached wall. Following his survey of translations into different languages, Mendelssohn relates how his own translation came to be published, to which reference was already made in this paper.

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[22] Mendelssohn was also in epistolary communication with the teacher of Einhorn, namely, J. D. Michaelis who has been called the founder of modern biblical criticism. He had planned to visit Michaelis in Göttingen. (Kayserling, *ibid.* Letters nos. 25, 28, pp. 515, 519). At the close of his Introduction to Ecclesiastes, Mendelssohn informs us that he consulted also Christian works, and, that whenever he found truth in them he "offered it to the Lord and it became holy." He justified this procedure on the ground of the counsel of the sages to receive the truth from whosoever may express it.

[23] As a matter of fact this translation appeared in 1676–8.

The final section of his Introduction is entitled "Parts of Speech and their Usage." It treats of language in general and of the Hebrew in particular, from the standpoint of logic. Mendelssohn himself realized that this section would prove to be the least interesting and the most difficult to the average reader, for, when he sent the Introduction to Homberg with the request that he make comments thereon, he asked him to give special attention to the last section, because, as he put it, "Here I have no friend who will properly consider it. It is too thorny for most of our people, although our learned ones ordinarily do not eschew the difficult."[25]

A characterization of Mendelssohn's translation and exegesis is now in order.[26] In his treatise on Translations, Mendelssohn points out that even the most expert of translators cannot render the thought of the original without some additions, omissions or change in the usual rendering of a word, if he is to preserve and properly render the thought of the author. He notes that a word for word translation may be very misleading, that every language has its peculiar idiom and order of words that must be kept in mind in the process of translating. Words have certain nuances that must be caught and rendered accordingly. Mendelssohn sought and admirably succeeded in giving effect to these observations in his translation. His painstaking effort to find the right German word for the Hebrew is patent. This is illustrated by his translation of ותרא אותו כי טוב הוא in Ex. 2.2. His studied choice of a German word to render the word *tob*, that lends itself to several meanings, stands out as we compare his with other renderings. The A. V., Revised, and Jewish Publication Society translations read: "And when she saw him that he was a goodly child . . .;" Luther renders by "Und da sie sahe, dass es ein fein Kind war . . .," and Mendelssohn by, "als sie ihn sahe, dass er wohlgebildet war . . ." The translations "goodly" and "fein" are ambiguous; only Mendelssohn's rendering is unambiguous. In his commentary Mendelssohn indicates the several meanings which the word "good" in Hebrew may have, and he selects the one, which to his mind expresses the exact meaning of the word as used in this particular context. Like examples are frequently found of Mendelssohn's meticulous effort to give the sense of the original, often with happy results. He seeks to be equally mindful of the exact force of a Hebrew verb, whose tense, in Hebrew, as is well known, is determined only by the context. For example, וילך in Ex. 2.1, ordinarily rendered by "and he went," Mendelssohn renders by the pluperfect thus: "some time previously a man of the house of Levi had gone . . ." His comment on this passage makes clear his justification for so doing.

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[24] These Judaeo-German translations did not meet with the favor of several rabbis. Zunz, *G. V.*², p. 467.

[25] Kayserling, *ibid*,² p. 317.

[26] I am not concerned with the correctness of the German used by Mendelssohn. D. Ottensosser made syntactical and grammatical corrections that are published in later editions, in an appendix to each book of the Pentateuch.

It need hardly be said that, keenly cognizant as he was of the sacred duty of the translator of the Torah to do the fullest justice possible to the original, he gave himself unstintingly to the necessary preparatory work in order to achieve the desired end. His is not a haphazard translation, not a borrowing from here or there. In one of his letters referring to his translation of the Psalms, he wrote that when Luther translated correctly, "scheint er mir auch gluecklich verdeutscht zu haben, und ich habe selbst die hebräischen Redensarten nicht gescheut, die er einmal in die Sprache aufgenommen . . ."[27] This does not mean, however, that Mendelssohn took over into his translation a goodly part of Luther's phraseology. Even a cursory comparison of his rendering with Luther's of the Pentateuch or of the Psalms, will reveal that his indebtedness to Luther does not begin to bulk as large as the indebtedness of all the translators of the Bible into English to the Authorized Version of the Protestant Church. Mendelssohn followed no one blindly. He studied each passage and its context carefully before rendering it into German. This is clearly evident from the fact that he consented to publish his translation, only on condition that Dubno would make clear in his commentary why a passage was translated in a particular way. This implies that Mendelssohn studiedly decided on his renderings. He therefore desired to have the reason for his decisions made clear. It is evident also, that by way of preparation for his translating work, Mendelssohn had studied the Aramaic versions and the outstanding exegetes of the Middle Ages, for he frequently cites them by way of agreement or disagreement in his commentary, and, even when he does not cite any of them in connection with a particular passage, we can often trace the basis of his translation or comment.

His translation of the Psalms cannot justly be said to be paraphrastic in character.[28] Because of the fact that in this translation Mendelssohn endeavored to convey to the German reader the poetic spirit and sometimes even the poetic form of the original, he was compelled at times to resort to periphrasis. In the main, however, he succeeded admirably in making his translation correspond closely to the text, despite the limitations that a poetic rendering imposes. I cited Mendelssohn's statement to the effect that, when Luther rendered the Hebrew correctly, he, Mendelssohn, did not hesitate to adopt his phraseology. Yet, a comparison of the two translations of the Psalms immediately and clearly reveals how very little Mendelssohn really did take from Luther, and also how greatly the two translators differ in style and method. Mendelssohn's rendering is characterized by marked dignity, and a close approximation to the poetic beauty and nobility of the original, in striking contrast to the prosaic and literal character of Luther's translation. This contrast can be brought home by juxtaposing any number of passages in the two translations of the same passage. For illustrative purpose I give their respective translations of the first two verses of the first Psalm.

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[27] Kayserling, *ibid.*, p. 322.

[28] So Kayserling, *ibid.* "er . . . gab der Uebersetzung zuweilen den Character einer Paraphrase."

Mendelssohn:

Heil dem Manne, der nicht kömmt
In den Rath der Frevler,
Der nie betrat den Weg der Sünder,
Nie sass, wo Spötter sitzen.

Luther:

Wohl dem, der nicht wandelt im Rath der Gottlosen; noch tritt auf den Weg der Sünder; noch sitzet, da die Spötter sitzen.

One familiar with the Hebrew cannot but immediately feel the poetic swing of the original in the translation, and also realize how faithful a rendering it is. The juxtaposition of the different phrases used by Luther and Mendelssohn in their respective renderings of the twenty-third Psalm, shows how little the latter borrowed from the former.

	LUTHER	MENDELSSOHN
v. 2	weidet	lagert
	Aue	Weide
	führet	leitet
	frischen Wasser	stillen Bächen
3	erquicket	labt
	Seele	schmachtendes Gemüth
	Strasse	Steige
	um seines Namens willen	zu seines Namens Ruhm
4	finstern Thal	Todtesschatten-Thale
	fürchte ich kein Unglück	so wall' ich ohne Furcht
	denn Du bist bei mir	Denn Du begleitest mich
	dein Stecken und Stab trösten mich	Dein Stab und deine Stütze Sind immerdar mein Trost

5 Du bereitest vor mir einen Tisch gegen meine Feinde	Du richtest mir ein Freudenmal Im Angesicht der Feinde zu;
Und schenkest mir voll ein	Und schenk'st mir volle Becher ein.
6 Gutes und Barmherzikeit werden mir folgen mein Lebenlang, und ich werde bleiben im Hause des Herrn immerdar.	Mir folget Heil und Seligkeit, In diesen Leben nach. Einst ruh' ich ew'ge Zeit, Dort, in des Ew'gen Haus.

Certainly Mendelssohn's "Er lagert mich" and "stillen Bächen" are more correct than Luther's renderings. On the other hand, Luther's "Er erquicket meine Seele" is more literal than Mendelssohn's "Er labet mein schmachtendes Gemüth," yet, Mendelssohn's rendering expresses the thought of the Psalmist more fully.[29] It is perfectly clear that Mendelssohn is not dependent on Luther, and, that stylistically and interpretatively he stands on his own feet.

Mendelssohn had begun his translation of some selected Psalms at least ten years before the first part of this Pentateuch rendering had appeared. In a letter addressed to Michaelis, Mendelssohn expressed himself as being dissatisfied with all the translations of the Psalms that had come to his attention. The poetic translations he found less satisfactory than the ones in prose, because, even when they rendered the Hebrew correctly, they did injustice to the Hebrew verse structure by the use of occidental verse forms.[30] Mendelssohn informs his correspondent that he had already completed the rendering of about twenty Psalms, among them, some of the most difficult, and that it was his intention to publish them as a specimen of the lyric poetry of the Hebrews. He sent Michaelis his translation of the ninety-first Psalm, just because of the difficulties a translator experiences in the rendering of this Psalm by reason of the sudden transitions in the original. Mendelssohn expressed his despair of ever being able to translate all of the Psalms, because, as he put it," . . .

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[29] *Vid.* comm. of the Bi'urist, Joel Brill, *ad loc.*

[30] *Vid.* letter no. 23, p. 509 in Kayserling,[1] *ibid.*, p. 509.

very many of them I really do not understand." However, notwithstanding his sense of inadequacy for the task, the translation appeared thirteen years later, a fine monument to his devoted and persistent labors. His translation of the Psalms appeared also in German characters during his life time, as it was intended to appeal to Christian as well as to Jewish readers. It found immediate favor. Alexander von Humboldt spoke of it as being "exquisite."[31] Incidentally, it may be said that Mendelssohn had planned to have also his translation of the Pentateuch appear in German type, in the belief that it might be welcomed by Christians, but his plan was not realized during his life-time.[32]

I now come to a consideration of his exegetic method, as exemplified in his commentaries on Ecclesiastes and Exodus. His commentary on Ecclesiastes was published eleven years before that on Exodus. In his Introduction to his earliest exegetic work, Mendelssohn refers to the four well-known types of Exegesis, namely, *Peshaṭ*, *Remez*, *Derash* and *Sod* (*PaRDeS*), that is, the simple or primary, the midrashic or homiletic, the allegorical and the mystical interpretations. Mendelssohn, discussing these four methods of exegesis, regards each as having its proper place and function, each as expressing in some way divine truth, but he states that he himself intends to expound the text of Ecclesiastes Peshaṭically. He found no commentary that adequately and correctly indicated the true connection of the passages, and, therefore, in effect all the commentaries caused confusion and attributed contradictory views to Solomon. The attempt of the Zohar to explain the seeming contradictions in the book, on the hypothesis that Solomon is quoting the language of infidels in order to expose their error, Mendelssohn characterizes as being "near to the Peshaṭ." Mendelssohn's solution of the apparent contradictions differs slightly from that of the Zohar. He too holds that "not everything that is said in the book, represents the views of Solomon." According to his theory, Solomon, so to speak, was engaged in dialogue with himself, placing the opposing views side by side, "so that what is true might be distinguished from that which is false, and that which is certain from that which is doubtful." The central purpose of the book, Mendelssohn holds, is to teach the doctrines of Immortality and Reward and Punishment in a future life. This, his view as to the design of the book, he develops in his comment especially on 3.16, 17, which I give here in part: "Inasmuch as I wondered on seeing faithless and treacherous men, who, despite their faithlessness and violence nevertheless prospered, while men of loving kindness became impoverished, spending their days in sorrow, and, being certain that all the ways of God are just, and that He is just and upright, I inferred that, of necessity, God will judge the righteous and the wicked in the future, that, although the compensation may be delayed, it is destined to be meted out in due time; for there is a time for everything, and for every deed there is judgment in the world to come. Indeed the very security of the wicked, and the chastisements of the righteous in this world are proof complete for the belief in immortality. For not even one who is perverse can deny that the judge of all the earth is a God of truth and without iniquity. If God would not justify the righteous and condemn the wicked, one could not escape ascribing evil and oppression to him. Therefore everyone who believes in the existence of God and that He is just, loving righteousness and justice, must of necessity either believe in the immortality of the soul and in reward or punishment in the world to come, or he must deny that which is patent to the eyes, namely, that there is no righteous man who perishes in his righteousness, nor a wicked man who prospers in his wickedness."

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[31] *Kosmos* II, 119, Kayserling, *ibid.*, p. 322.

[32] *Op. cit.* 1st ed., letter no. 32, p. 526, dated July, 1779.

It must not be inferred from this comment that Mendelssohn's commentary is predominantly occupied with theologic or philosophic questions. On the contrary, with very few exceptions, he is very simple and direct in his explanations, intelligible even to the average reader. The intricate problems connected with the exegesis of this book he puts into his elaborate introduction. He probably realized that to discuss them in the course of the commentary would lessen rather than enhance its value and readability for the ordinary reader. Be that as it may, we learn from one of his letters that he believed that his commentary on Ecclesiastes demonstrates that that book can be literally explained in brief compass.[33] Indeed his commentary is one of the briefest and simplest.

The outstanding inconcinnities in that book had been pointed out and explained by Ibn Ezra, but his explanations did not satisfy Mendelssohn, who, in turn, deals with them in his Introduction. Interesting is his frank disavowal of the necessity of being governed in his interpretations by the chapter divisions of the book which, Mendelssohn believed, were intended primarily to locate a word or passage in the Bible, and not to indicate where a subject matter begins and ends. Therefore, he asserts, every interpreter has the right to make his own divisions according to his understanding of the context. Mendelssohn originally intended to indicate in the printed text the logical divisions of the book and to ignore the current chapter divisions. But, he tells us, he refrained from so doing because of the difficulty that students using his text, would experience when seeking to locate a reference to Ecclesiastes as given in the printed Talmud editions. In the Introduction he gives the thirteen divisions, which, to his mind, are the logical ones. Mendelssohn himself declares that his comments, for the most part, are not original. He acknowledges his indebtedness to the commentary *Miklal Yofi* of Solomon ibn Melek, from which he excerpted especially lexicographical and grammatical material, and he tells us that he adopted verbatim comments of Rashi and Ibn Ezra wherever they gave the primary meaning of the text. Having thus expressed his general indebtedness, Mendelssohn does not indicate in the body of his text the sources of his respective interpretations.

In his Pentateuchal commentary Mendelssohn is also largely eclectic. When Solomon Dubno agreed to compose a commentary to accompany the translation, Mendelssohn informs us that Dubno selected and brought together the Peshaṭic interpretations found "in the books of the foremost of the great exegetes who are eyes to us in the interpretation of Scripture. They are the great luminary Rashi, to whom none is comparable when he trod the path of the Peshaṭ; his grandson Rashbam, who probed deeply for the primary meaning of Scripture, sometimes more than he should have done, until by reason of his love for the Peshaṭ, he sometimes missed the truth; Abraham ibn Ezra who was an expert in the sciences, and Ramban who did wonderfully well in his commentary on the Torah; . . . and with them belongs Redaḳ, whose commentary on the Torah did not come down to us; nevertheless in his dictionary he expounds many passages of the Bible." The exegetes here mentioned are cited most frequently by Mendelssohn in addition to a number of other sources. He culled the best from the old, including the rich rabbinical literature in which good scriptural interpretations are found scattered. His eclecticism, however, was not an indiscriminate plucking from the large exegetic garden, in which rank weeds as well as choice flowers flourished. He searched carefully, and selected that which he felt truly interpreted the text. Like most of the medieval exegetes he sometimes opposed or adopted an interpretation of an older source without reference to the author thereof.[34] Mendelssohn, like Ibn Ezra, was a professed seeker after the Peshaṭ. Yet we find both sinning occasionally by long discussions and digressions that have no place in a strictly Peshaṭic commentary. Thus, for example, after commenting in the usual manner upon the passage telling of Moses' being hid in the bulrushes, Mendelssohn feels prompted, in midrashic manner, to find in the fact that he was thus hid a possible divine purpose. He comments thus: "And Jochebed did thus, because she thought that possibly a miracle might take place in his behalf so that he be saved . . . Possibly God brought this about that Moses might grow up in the palace, so that his soul might reach a high plane through education and habit, that it might not be lowly and accustomed to slave ways. Do you not see that he slew the Egyptian because of the violence that he did, and that he saved the daughters of Midian from the shepherds who were doing violence in giving their sheep to drink from the waters which they (the daughters) had drawn? And another reason: if he had grown up among his brethren and had they known him from his youth, they would not have stood in awe of him, and would have thought of him as being like unto one of them."[35] A fine bit of psychological insight, this, but not germane to Peshaṭic exegesis. Yet, Mendelssohn had ample precedent in making such remarks, for, most of the good commentators who preceded him were given to similar speculations and observations. The statement "and I will harden Pharaoh's heart" of course raises the question of Free Will.[36] After citing earlier views in explanation of the passage, he must needs add something of his own. His commentary on the Decalogue is introduced by a lengthy preliminary discussion.[37] On reaching the first lines of poetry in the Bible, Mendelssohn must pause to give briefly the principle characteristic of Hebrew poetry, namely, parallelism.[38] After giving several illustrations of the different kinds of parallelism taken from Psalms and Proverbs, he concludes: "I cannot expatiate here on this theme, as my only purpose is to call attention to the fact that this passage is poetic in structure, and that it is the earliest piece of poetry that has come down to us from antiquity . . ." But when he comes to the "Song at the Sea," he gives himself free reign to discuss at length the structure and types of Hebrew poetry. His treatise contains in essence all that can be said on that subject.

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[33] *Vid.* letter no. 8 in Kayserling, *ibid.*, p. 494.

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[34] E. g., in Ex. 3.2, he adopts verbatim from Redaḳ's Dictionary the derivation of סינה from סנה without mentioning Redaḳ.

[35] On Ex. 2.2.

Lest the reader get the impression from what I have said, that Mendelssohn, as an exegete, is predominantly discursive and digressive, I hasten to add that, generally, this is not so. While very many of his comments are lengthy, they are not digressive. Their length is due to the fact that he is given to citing older authorities by way of opposition or confirmation, and sometimes to discussing their views, and, also to the fact that he is at great pains to make this point clear. What he writes is pertinent, but, unlike Rashi, he did not master the fine exegetic art of compression. The length of some of the comments is due also to detailed grammatical and syntactical explanations.[39] To the modern student who has a thorough grounding in Hebrew grammar, such explanations may seem to be superfluous, but probably to most readers of Mendelssohn's day these very elements in the commentary, so characteristic of the commentary on every book of the Pentateuch, were illuminating. Undoubtedly some of his readers obtained their first knowledge of Hebrew grammar and syntax from their reading of the Bi'ur. Grammar, for a long time, had been woefully neglected. Nay, it was regarded by some with contempt. The plaint of Wessley was not without justification. "They pay no attention," he writes, "even to grammar . . . and, when one tells them that grammar is the outer gate leading into the inner sanctuary, and that whosoever is removed from it cannot enter into the sanctuary, he is, in their eyes, as one joking."[40] Mendelssohn and his collaborators were, for many, the restorers of this discipline so essential for correct exegesis. The grammatical, syntactical, lexicographical and massoretic elements rendered an incalculable service to those seeking a more exact and scientific method and guidance in the study of Scripture. There can be no question, but that the happy combination of translation and commentary ushered in a new era of Bible study as an end in itself, and also as a means of knowing at first hand the primary source of our Faith.

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[36] Ex. 7.3.

[37] So also Ibn Ezra's commentary, but whereas his is of a critical nature seeking to explain the variants in the two Decalogues, Mendelssohn's is theological.

[38] Gen. 4.23, 24.

[39] For typical grammatical explanation of difficult or unusual forms, *vid.* comm. on Ex. 1.16 and 2.10.

Was it with this thought in mind that the specimen pages of the new work were entitled *Leaves of Healing*? That title, at any rate, suggests Ezekiel's vision of a stream issuing forth from beneath the threshhold of the Temple door, a stream, endowed with such life-giving power that, upon reaching and flowing into the Dead Sea, it would change that dead body into one teeming with life. On the banks of that river, the prophet was informed, there would be ever-flourishing fruit trees, whose fruit would be for food and the *leaf thereof would be for healing*. And the reason given for the stream's possessing such vivifying power is, "because the waters thereof issue out of the sanctuary." Truly, *Leaves of Healing* were the pages of the translation and the Bi'ur. The learning they contained was as a living stream of quickening power, because the waters thereof flowed directly from the sanctuary of Sacred Writ.

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[40] Wessley מהלל ריע. *Vid.* also Euchel תולדות משה בן מנחם 1814, p. 41. For the same attitude, when the science of Hebrew grammar was in its inception, *vid.* Janaḥ's grammar ספר הרקמה, Michael Wilensky, 1928, p. 4.

SUPPLEMENT TO "AN UNKNOWN HEBREW VERSION OF THE SAYINGS OF AESOP"

By RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

The following are the notes to the Hebrew section of "An Unknown Hebrew Version of the Sayings of Aesop," by Richard J. H. Gottheil in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. V, pp. 315–352.

P. 339, N. 27 Ms. has illegible word here. My nearest guess is ול, but I cannot derive any meaning from it.

P. 341, N. 28 There is no Hebrew parallel for saying No. 55 of the Italian original, although space is provided. The same is true of Nos. 226 and 256, q. v.

N. 29 So Ms. Perhaps it is an error for אי־איפשרי.

P. 342, N. 30 Ms. originally had a letter at the end of the word which is probably ף, but the ד, as in our reading, was written subsequently, and a line passed through the original final letter.

P. 343, N. 31 Ms. originally had ושובחים; then inserted a מ but failed to delete the *vav* after the *šin*.

P. 346, N. 32 Ms. ידת.

N. 33 Ms. adds in small characters: חסר בסערה גדולה יש יותר רעות (?) מבבקעה (Omitted: There are greater evils (?) in a heavy storm than in a valley).
This postscript obviously has no connection with the immediately preceding or following sentence, and is rather meaningless in itself.

N. 34 So Ms., probably for שיעמום, a metathesis which occurs also in שיעבוד; see No. 190.

N. 35 See preceding note.

P. 348, N. 36 The saying is in brackets. See Note 25.

P. 349, N. 37 So Ms., probably for נעשים.

P. 350, N. 38 An unfortunate slip for טוב, required by the sense and the Italian original.

P. 351, N. 39 Above שוע the word כילי is inserted in small characters, a rendering which is much more suitable to the context than our present version.

P. 351, N. 40 The sentence is incomplete. Following the author's style, and taking his liberties with Hebrew grammar and syntax, the rest of the Italian original may be translated וחוסר הקרבים.

P. 352, N. 41 Paper pasted over text. Reading based on Italian original.

N. 42 See preceding note.

N. 43 Ms. has זואבים.

Further Corrections:

The citation on line 9 of note 6 on p. 316 should be from *MWJ* instead of *MGWJ*, as at present. For this correction I owe thanks to Prof. Alexander Marx who was kind enough to call it to my attention.

The note with saying No. שמר, p. 352, should be 41, and not 43.

The questionable reading in saying No. שנר on p. 352 should be corrected to פטטיא, a word meaning gossip, flippant talk (see Jastrow, 1154b s.v. פטטה).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF PREVIOUS VOLUMES

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Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS
Volume II—1925

Moses with the Shining Face.
Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

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Some Unpublished Letters of Theological Importance.
DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

TABLE OF CONTENTS
Jubilee Volume—Special, 1925

The History of the Hebrew Union College.
DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College.
The Hebrew Union College of Yesterday and a Great Desideratum in its Curriculum Today.
KAUFMAN KOHLER, Hebrew Union College.
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The Names of the Rabbinical Schools and Assemblies in Babylon.
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Israel Bettan, Hebrew Union College.

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Joseph Reider, Dropsie College.

The Social Implications of Prayer.
Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College.

The Philosophy of Judaism and How It Should Be Taught.
David Neumark, Hebrew Union College.

TABLE OF CONTENTS
Volume III—1926

The Term "Foreigner" (נכרי) *Historically Considered.*
Michael Guttman, Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau, Germany.

Musical Instruments in the Old Testament.
Sol Baruch Finesinger, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Additional Notes on "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel."
Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Some Notes on the Text of the Scriptures.
Joseph Reider, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa.

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V. Aptowitzer, Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt, Vienna, Austria.

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Ludwig Blau, Landesrabbinerschule, Budapest, Hungary.

Ḳalir Studies.
I. Elbogen, Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin, Germany.

A Didactic Poem of Ṣahlal b. Netanel Gaon.
Israel Davidson, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

A Second Supplement to "The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs."
Jacob Mann, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Additional Note to Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume.
Jacob Mann.

The Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology.
Alexander Marx, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

Two Letters from Abraham Firkovich.
Abraham Kahana, Tel Aviv, Palestine.

PUBLICATIONS OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

Additional Notes to the article on the Classification of Sciences in Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy (Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume).
Harry A. Wolfson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

TABLE OF CONTENTS
Volume IV—1927

The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch.
Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Die Bibel und die jüdische Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart.
Albert Lewkowitz, Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau, Germany.

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Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Spuren des Matriarchats im jüdischen Schrifttum.
V. Aptowitzer, Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt, Wien.

Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions.
Jacob Mann, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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H. G. Enelow, Temple Emanu-El, New York City.

Sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Texte des Sepher Ma'asijoth, ed. Gaster.
Samuel Krauss, Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt, Wien.

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Bernhard Heller, Landesrabbinerschule, Budapest.

Ḳalir-Studien.
I. Elbogen, Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin.

Gabirol's Authorship of the "Choice of Pearls" and the two Versions of Joseph Ḳimḥi's "Sheḳel Haḳodesh."
Alexander Marx, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City.

תעודות מכתבי״יד
Jacob Moses Toledano, Tangier, Morocco.

Additional Note to Toledano's Article.
Jacob Mann.

The Astrolabe in Jewish Literature.
Solomon Gandz, Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, New York City.

Bendel Ahrweiler.
M. Ginsburger, Strasbourg.

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Additions and Corrections to "The Correspondence Between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides About Astrology" (in the Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. III, 1926).
Alexander Marx, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City.

TABLE OF CONTENTS
Volume V—1928

The Book of the Covenant.
Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Poems of Haggai.
Paul F. Bloomhardt, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

Das tannaitische Grenzverzeichnis Palästinas.
Samuel Klein, Nové Zámky, Czecho-Slovakie.

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Richard J. H. Gottheil, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

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Cecil Roth, London.

מכתב־יד
Jacob Moses Toledano, Tangier, Morocco.

Die Teleologie bei Maimonides.
Z. Diesendruck, Wien.

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